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Slave-Holder's Department.

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR M'DUFFIE'S MESSAGE.

and deluded lunatics, overlooking the numerous obin the expansion of their hypocritical benevolence, kind to fulfil the fiend-like errand of mingling the blood and every person, however covered over with "multions of the earth. It is conferred as a reward of tiplying villainies" that may promote its diabolical ends, or worship at its infernal altars. By its unholy creed, murder itself becomes a labor of love and every person, however covered over with "multions of the earth. It is conferred as a reward of merit, and only upon those who are qualified to enjoy it. Until the "Ethiopian can change his skin," it will be vain to attempt, by any human power, to a trayed against every form of usurpation, and fight.

Though the right to emancipate our slaves, by coerticus defended against all the encroachments of power, by the slave-holding States, than by any other members of the confederacy. In which of our great political conflicts is it, that they have not been arrayed against every form of usurpation, and fight. charity, and the felon renegado who flies from the justice of his country, finds not only a refuge, but slaves, by all their attributes. becomes a sainted minister, in the sanctuary of its temple. No error can be more mischievous than to underrate the danger of such a principle, and no policy can be more fatal than to neglect it, from a contempt for the supposed insignificance of its agents. fearfully instructus, from what small and contemptible beginings, the ami des noirs philanthropy may rise to a gigantic power, too mighty to be resisted by all the influence and energy of the governmentin the one case, shrouding a wealthy and flourishing island in the blood of its white inhabitants; in the other, literally driving the ministry, by means of an instructed Parliament, to perpetrate that act of suicidal legislation and colonial oppression, the emancidal legislation and colonial oppression, the emancidal legislation and colonial oppression, the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies. It
may be not unaptly compared to the element of fire,
and of happiness, they would be able to form some
dependent servitude which produce a sense of supejects, makes the State so refusing an accomplice in in any be not unaptly compared to the element of fire, and of happiness, they would be able to form some of which a neglected spark, amongst combustible materials, which a timely stamp of the foot might have extinguished forever, speedily swells into a sweeping torrent of fiery desolation, which no has been improved, by their subjection to an entire tree man power can arrest or control. In the opinion of intelligent West India planters, it is because the ven by which it could have been accomplished, of intelligent West India planters, it is because the ven by which it could have been accomplished, they are yet wholly unprepared for any thing like a where universal suffrage prevails without domestic institutions and tranquility, are greatly increased both by the nature of those proceedings and furnishes a just cause of war. A need to inferiority in the master or employers, and of inferiority in the outrage, and farmishes a just cause of which is invited. man power can arrest or control. In the opinion is because the intelligent West India planters, it is because the local authorities, from a sense of false security, nelocal authorities, from a sense of false security, neglected to hang up the first of these political mission the hostile proceedings of the the hostile proceedings of the tendency that the hostile proceedings of the hostil

that the Republic receive no detriment."

the legislature will not adjourn till it discharges this high duty of patriotism.

high duty of patriotism.
It cannot be disguised, however, that any laws which may be enacted by the authority of this State, favorable condition of political slavery, does not admit of a question. It is the obvious interest of the master, not less than his duty, to provide comfortawill be wholly insufficient master, not less than his duty, to provide comfortawill tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period, mitted within its limits, will be wholly insufficient master, not less than his duty, to provide comforta-

State, are perpetrated in other communities, which of no country in the world are better provided for in hold and exercise sovereign and exclusive jurisdicthese respects, than the slaves of our country. In tion over all persons and things within their territo- the single empire of Great Britain, the most free and rial limits. It is within these limits, protected from enlightened nation in Europe, there are more wretch-responsibility to our laws, by the sovereignty of the ed paupers and half starving operatives, than there States in which they reside, that the authors of all are slaves in the United States.

It will, therefore, become our imperious duty, re- Besides the hardships of incessant toil, sovereign States of this confederacy, to demand miserable creatures are perfectly annoyed of our sovereign associates the condign punishment most distressing cares for the future condition of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves themselves and their children. of the sanctuaries of their respective jurisdictions to From this excess of labor, this actual want, and

and pernicious prejudices.

those chosen instruments of God, were slaveholders. exists in all other communities. In fact, the divine sanction of this institution is so Since your last adjournment, the public mind, plainly written that "he who runs might read" it; happy, much beyond the general condition of the huthroughout the slaveholding States, has been inand those over righteous pretenders and Pharisees, man race, except where those foreign intruders and naticism itself. They do not, indeed, disguise the tensely, indignantly and justly excited, by the wan-ton, officious and incendiary proceedings of societies us, would do well to enquire how much more nearly and persons, in some of the non-slaveholding States, they walk in the ways of godliness, than did Abrawho have been actively employed in attempting to ham, Isaac and Jacob. That the African negro is circulate among us, pamphlets, papers and pictorial destined by Providence to occupy this condition of ed in the order of Providence. e most offensive and inflamma- servile dependence, is not less manifest. It is marktory character, and eminently calculated to seduce to the face, stamped on the skin, and evinced by the intellectual inferiority, and natural improvidence of his race. These wicked monsters of his race. They have all the qualities that fit tie slavery is a curse to the whole population—a them for slaves, and not one of those that fit them to moral and political evil, much to be deplored, but injects in their own vicinity who have moral, if not legal claims upon their charitable regard, run abroad for national freedom, but for self-government of any They are in all respects, physical, moral, and muffled up in the saintly mantle of christian meekness to fulfil the fiend-like errand of mingling the blood have for consecutive ages, dragged out a wretched to political causes, with an eye of profound philosoof the master and the slave, to whose state they are existence under a grinding political despotism, and phy, ascribed the high and indomitable spirit of li- each and every one of the slave holding States: 1. who are doomed to this hopeless condition by the veequally indifferent, with the smouldering ruins of
our peaceful dwellings. No principle of human action so utterly baffles all human calculation, as that species of fanatical enthusiasm, which is made up of envy and ambition, assuming the guise of relieven the white race of mankind are doomed to slavegious zeal, and acting upon the known prejudices ry and oppression, should suppose it possible to re- the glory of their primitive character. religious or political, of an ignorant multitude. | claim the Africans from their destiny. The capacity coloring of national vanity in the assertion, which denouncing against the incendiares of whom we Under the influence of this species of voluntary madness, nothing is sacred that stands in the way of its
purposes. Like all other religious impostures, it
has power to consecrate every act, however atrocious,
has power to consecrate every act, however atrocious

> Let not therefore, the misguided and designing intermeddlers, who seek to destroy our peace, imagine that they are serving the cause of God by practically arraigning the decrees of his providence. In-deed, it would scarcely excite surprise, if with the impious audacity of those who projected the tower ments of heaven, and remonstrate with the God of wisdom for having put the mark of Cain and the curse of Ham upon the African race, instead of the No community ever has existed

compare the coudition of that portion of them which we hold in servitude, with that which still remains gross immorality and slavish subjection to an iron our enemies." If emancipated, where would they lightened people will long submit to such a mock-repress it can be more sacred, than that which adds are perfectly satisfied that the Anti-Slavery Society despotism of British bayonets, the fatal mockery of all the promised blessings of emancipation.

Under these circumstances, and in this critical Under these circumstances, and in this critical Compact, which is at a sale of their remaining among us is utterly visionary.

Amalgamation is abhorient to every sentiment of new norm such and in this critical compact, which is at one professing such and in this critical compact, which is at one professing such and in this critical compact, which is at one professing such and in this critical compact, which is at one professing such and in this critical compact, which is at one professing such and in this critical compact, which is at one professing such and in this critical compact, which is at one professing such and in this critical compact, which is at one profession and in this critical compact, which is at one profession and in this critical compact, which is at one profession and in this critical compact, which is at one profession and in this critical compact, which is at one profession and the condition of our union. The latest condition is abhorient to such a mocker to the sanctions of international law, the solemn of their remaining among us is utterly visionary.

Amalgamation is abhorient to every sentiment of new compact, which is at one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and that one proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and the condition of the sanctions of international law, the solemn of the proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and the condition of the proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and the condition of the proved a complete lucus a non lucendo, and the condition of the proved a c juncture of our affairs, the solemn and responsible ture; and if they remain as a seperate caste, whether duty devolves on the legislature, of "taking care endowed with equal privileges or not, will become our masters, or we must resume our mastery over The crime which these foreign incendiaries have them. This state of political amalgamation and concommitted against the State, is one of the very high-flict which the abolitionists evidently aim to produce, est grade known to human laws. It not only strikes would be the most horrible condition imaginable, and at the very existence of society, but seeks to accom- would furnish Dante or Milton with the type for anplish the catastrophe by the most horrible means, other chapter, illustrating the horrors of the infernal celebrating the obsequies of the State in a saturnial regions. The only disposition therefore that could carnival of blood and murder; and while brntally vi- made of our emancipated slaves, would be their carrival of blood and murder; and white ordinary violating all the charities of life, and desecrating the
very altars of religion, impiously calling upon Heavery altars of religion, impiously calling upon Heavery the same time of blood and murder; and white ordinary viordinary vistransportation to Africa, to exterminate the natives,
of domestic slavery supersedes the necessity of an
as an irresistable appeal, to every appeal as
are irresistable appeal as are irresistable appeal, to every appeal as
are irresistable appeal, to every appeal as
are irresistable appeal, to every appeal as are irresistable appea ven to sanction these abominations.

It is my deliberate opinion, that laws of every community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy, regarding the author of the principal of the community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy, regarding the author of the carth, and destroy the privileges, what a commentary should we furnish thors of it as enemies of the human race. Nothing most perfect system of social and political happicould be more appropriate, than for South Carolina ness that ever has existed. It is perfectly evident what a revolting spectacle of republican equality to set this example in the present crisis, and I trust that the destiny of the negro race is either the worst should we exhibit to the mockery of the world! e in the present crisis, and I trust that the destiny of the negro race is either the worst

The advantage of domestic slavery over the mos this mischief, securely conduct their schemes, plant their batteries, and hurl their fiery missiles among us, aimed at that mighty magazine of combustible matter, the explosion of which would lay the State in ruins. curring to those great principles of international law, most for human nature to endure, and the sufferings which still exist in all their primitive force amongst of actual want driving them almost to despair, these

carry on schemes of intended hostility against the these distressing cares, our slaves are entirely exinstitutions, the safety, and the existence of the empted. They habitually labor from two to four Institutions, the satety, and the existence of the state. In performing this high duty, to which we are constrained by the great law of self-preservation, let us approach our co-states with all the fraternal family of confederated republics, and at the same family of confederated republics, and at the same time with that firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, while projections are constrained by the great law of self-preservation, let us approach our co-states with all the fraternal ring with the firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, while projections are community—they a sovereign State, while projection in the projection of the firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, while projection in the projection of the firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, while projection in the projection of the firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, while projection in the projection of the same that they usually eat as much wholesome and substantial food in one day, as English operatives or Irish peasons the firmness and decision, which become the real motives and ultimate purposes of the Abolimidaess which becomes us as members of the same time with that firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, while maintaining her dearest interference in our considerated republics, and at the same time with that firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, to permit any foreign authority to question our right to maintain it. It may nevertheless be

appropriate, as a voluntary token of respect for the opinions of our confederated brethren, to represent some views to their consideration on this subject, calculated to disabuse their minds of false opinions associtates. Cato the elder, has been regarded as a to redeem them from purgatory, if they are Catholics, model of Roman virtue, and yet he is said to have sold than to assail their warranty and slander their mem No human institution, in my opinion, is more manifestly consistent with the will of God, than domestic slavery, and no one of his ordinances is written in more legible characters, than that which consigns the African race to this condition, as more conducive to their own happiness, than any other of which they are susceptible. Whether we consult the search Society of nature and the superannuated slaves, to avoid the expense of maintaining them. The citizens of this State may derers." But this voluntary and gratuitous assumption of responsibility, in imitation of a recent and high example in our history, but imperfectly conceals a lurking principle of danger, which deserves to be examined and exposed. What is there to make of our slaves is strictly patriarchal, and produces the people of New York, or Massachusetts, responsibility, singular their membranes of the state may derers." But this voluntary and gratuitous assumptions, but it may be safely affirmed, that they would doom to except the example of the Roman paragon. The government of the sall their warranty and slander their membranes of the state may derers." But this voluntary and gratuitous assumptions of the Romans, but it may be safely affirmed, that they would doom to except the example of the Roman paragon. The government of the sall their warranty and slander their membranes of the state is said to have sold the expense of the paragon of the state may derers." But this voluntary and gratuitous assumptions of the sample of the Romans, but it may be safely affirmed, that they would doom to except the example of the Roman paragon. The government of the sall their warranty and slander their membranes of the sall their warranty and slander their membranes of the sall their warranty and gratuitous assumptions, but it is the example of the Roman paragon. The provention of the Roman paragon of the Roman paragon. his superannuated slaves, to avoid the expense of maintaining them. The citizens of this State may derers." But this voluntary and gratuitous assumpthe sacred Scriptures, or the lights of nature and those mutual feelings of kindness on the part of the reason, we shall find these truths as abundantly ap- master, and fidelity and attachment on the part of the parent, as if written with a sunbeam in the heavens. slave, which can only result from a constant inter-Under both Jewish and Christian dispensations of change of good offices, and which can only exist in our religion, domestic slavery existed with the une-quivocal sanction of its prophets, its apostles, and finally its great Author. The patriarchs themselves, slavery, or in that form of domestic servitude which

In a word, our slaves are cheerful, contented and

Nor can it be admitted, as some of our statesmen capable of being eradicated. Let the tree be judged the consent of their owners. Disguise it as they by its fruit. More than half a century ago, one of may, "to this complexion it must come at last," will be vain to attempt, by any human power, to make freemen of those whom God has doomed to be ing under the flag of liberty? Indeed, it is a fact of authoritative form of a legislative declaration, to be historical notoriety; that those great whig principles of liberty, by which government is restrained with-rity. Our right to demand of those States the enof liberty, by which government is restrained within constitutional limits, have their origin, and for a long time had their only abiding places in the slave-

holding States. impious audacity of those who projected the tower ence so clearly testifies. If we look into the ele-of Babel, they should attempt to scale the battled that servitude in some form,

No community ever has existed without it, and we may confidently assert, none ever will. In the If the benevolent friends of the black race would very nature of things, there must be classes of per-either by inflicting condign punishment itself, or by sons to discharge all the different offices of society, delivering them up to the justice of the offended comfrom the highest to the lowest. Some of these offiing States, if they are not, in less than a quarter of a liberal, enlightened and magnanimous conduct of ofthings, the men who are agitating the whole comcentury, driven to the adoption of a similar in stitu- the people in many portions of the non-slaveholding tion, or to take refuge from robbery and anarchy, un- States, forbids us to anticipate a refusal on the part of der a military despotism.

ployments of society are performed by domestic look forward to this inauspicious result, from con-slaves, a class well defined by their color, and entire-sidering the necessary consequences which would than procuring for themselves a by no means enviable ly separated from the political body, the rights of property are perfectly secure, without the establishproperty are perfectly secure, without the establishment of artificial barriers. In a word, the institution hereditary system of government. If our slaves monstrable that the production of cotton depends not olition paper, at New Richmond, Clermont County. were emancipated, and admitted, bleached or un- so much on soil and climate as on the existence of Finding e doctrines of the emancipationists, and No rational man would consent to live in such a state of society, if he could find a refuge in any other.

Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the corner stone of our republican edi-If we go no further than this, we had as well do nothing.

These outrages against the peace and safety of the ultimate emancipation of our slaves. So deep is my conviction on this subject, that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I could say in all sincerity, and under all the sanctions of christianity and patriotism, "God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generation, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery, as it existed among the patriarchs of the primitive church, and in all the free States of antiquity."

If the Legislature should concur in these general

views of this important element of our political and social system, our confederates should be distinctly informed, in any communications we may have d casion to make to them, that in claiming to be exempted from all foreign interference, we can recognise no distinction between ultimate and immediate

It becomes necessary, in order to ascertain the extent of our danger, and the measures of precaution

sible for slavery in S. Carolina, any more than the people of Great Britain? To assume that the peo-ple of these States are responsible for the continuance of this institution, is distinctly to assume that they have a right to abolish it: and whatever enforced disclaimers they may make, their efforts would be worse than unprofitable on any other hypothesis. The folly of attempting to convert the slave -holders to voluntary emancipation, by a course of slander and fatal ministers of mischief, the emancipationists, like fact, that their principal object is to operate on pubtheir arch-prototype in the garden of Eden, and aclic opinion in the non-slaveholding States. And to ion of these States, however unanimous, can break the chains of slavery by some moral magic. The whole tenor of their discussions, clearly demonstrate that their object is to bring the slaveholding States into universal odium, and the public opinion of the non-slaveholding States to the point of emancipating our slaves by federal legislation, without

> It is in this aspect of the subject that it challeng-There is no diate passage of penal laws by such legislatures,

actment of laws for the punishment of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves of the sanctuary of their sovereign jurisdiction, to wage a war of extermination against us, is founded on one of the most salutary and conservative principles of international law. Every State is under the most sacred obligations, not only to abstain from all such interference with the institutions of another as is calculated to disturb its tranquility or endanger its safety, but to prevent its citizens or subjects from such interference, those states to fulfil these high obligations of nationare bound at least to come forward, and prove that But where the menial offices and dependent emal faith and duty. And we have the less reason to

our slaves. These consequences may be presented

in these States were now emancipated, the American crop would be reduced, the very next year, from 1;200,000, to 600,000 bales. No great skill in political economy will be required to estimate how enormously the price of cotton would be increased by this change, and no one who will consider how largely this staple contributes to the wealth of manufacturing nations, and to the necessaries and comforts of the poorer classes all over the world, can fail to perceive the disastrous effects of so great a reduction in the quantity, and so great an enhancement in the price of it. In Great Britain, France, and the United States, the catastrophe would be overwhelming, and it is not extravagant to say, that for little more than two millions of cut loose from tranquil moorings, and set adrift upon the untried ocean of, at least, a doubtful experiment ten millions of poor white people would be reduced to destitution, pauperism and starvation. An anxous desire to avoid the last sad alternative of an injured community, prompts this final appeal to the interests and enlightened philanthrophy of our confederate States. And we cannot permit ourselves to believe, that our just demands, thus supported by every consideration of humanity and duty, will be rejected by States, who are united to us by so many cial and political ties, and who have so deep a interest in the preservation of that Union.

I herewith transmit the proceedings and resolu tions of numerous assemblages of the people, as well in several other States as in this, relative to

tion fanatics of the north are plotting against the peace and lives of our southern neighbors. The late extensive plans developed in Mississippi the cargoes of seditious and treasonable tracts and pamphlets, a of seditious and treasonable tracts and pamphlets, a fiew days since noticed as arriving at Norfolk and Charleston, intended for extensive distribution among the negroes of the Carolinas and Virginia, and lastly the scenes, yesterday announced in our paper, as ha ving occurred in Charleston, in consequence of the enormous quantity of these publications brought in the Columbia, steamer, from New York, in the public mail, clearly demonstrated a preconcerted and most atrotcious conspiracy set on foot by the incendi-aries of the Tappan and Garrison school, to light up the torch of civil war over every part of the Southern States.

dle with the freedom of discussion, abstaine much as possible, from touching on this exciting sub-ject, hoping and trusting that the impressive lessons which the abolitionists received in New York, a year since, and the general sense of indignation whi against their revolting doctrines, would have red them from proceeding farther, and brought ther back to a returning sense of propriety.—We he fondly cherished the expectation that the subject would have gradually died away, and been abando ed by the madmen who have agitated it. We have been most grievously disappointed; and we are no convinced that they are determined to proceed their criminal designs, be the consequences whe they may. It therefore behooves our fellow-citizens unincipal authorities, to adopt, at once such public measures as may enable us to co-operat with our friends at the south, against the base wretch es who are the authors of these treasonable sc As we possess the power, and the means, if is or imperious duty to make common cause against, an to apprehend, these incendiaries, wherever they may be found, as the enemies and traitors to our country. Their vile pamphlets should be seized on as com-Their vile pamphlets should be seized or as common nuisances against the morality and peace of the community, and as will effectually secure the public from being contaminated or exasperated by their inflamatory doctrines, either through the press or the post-office, or any other medium by which they can be circulated or disseminated among our citizens. The time has arrived when these excesses must be promptly put down, if we wish to save our country, our liberties and our laws, and prevent a scene of carnage and massacre, and of civil war, such as ought to make every man who revers the land of his fathers, and the sacred compact which binds us to-gether, tremble and shudder to think of.—N. York

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

In confirmation of the views we have uniformly expressed of the blighting influence which the miscalled abolitionists have had on the true interests of the blacks, we give the following facts:—A few years ago, the people of Missouri elected their members of the State legislature with express refference to such an alteration of the constitution as might provide for the gradual, though ultimate extinction of slavery. This fact we gather from the public press of that State A proposition for a convention to take the subject in-to consideration, has been submitted by the legisla-ture to the people, and has been negatived by a major-ity of two to one. Thus do we find that in the places where the seeds of abolition had been planted by where the seeds of abolition may be those who alone have the right to do it, all prospects of a good return are blasted by the men wh rce their growth.

Whilst on this subject we will state our surprise that the abolitionists do not attempt at least to show that their labors have been attended with some good. riveting instead of breaking the fetters of the slave, they have done some good to somebody, and that their labors have been attended with some better effect,

notoriety .- N. Y. Com. Adv.

ABOLITION PAPER. We perceive by a notice in the Christian Journal that James G. Birney, is about to commence his Abdomestic slavery.

In the relaxing latitudes where it grows, not one half the quantity would be produced, but for the existence of this institution; and every practical planter will concur in the opinion, that if all the distribution is an every practical planter will concur in the opinion, that if all the distribution is an every practical planter will concur in the opinion, that if all the distribution is an every practical planter will concur in the opinion, that if all the distribution is a contact of the produced in the contact of the our slaveholding neighbors, and an attempt to browbeat public opinion in this quarter. We do therefore hope, notwithstanding the alleged respectability of the editor, that he will find the public so inexora-bly averse to his mad scheme, that he will deem it his interest to abandon it .- Cin. Whig Dec. 21

> A few months since, we had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with Rev. Wm. C. Munroe, an ordained minister of the Baptist persuasion, who had been some time pastor of a church of people of color in Portland. His heart, however, was by some came to this city to place himself under the proper board to be sent thither. On his way, he had an opportunity to test the correctness of such remarks as those once made by the editor of the New Hampshire the existence of a cruel prejudice Observer, denying the existence of a cruel prejudic against our colored fellow-citizens. Mr. Munror with his wife and child, were utterly and absolutel refused all means of conveyance by the public carriages from Portsmouth to Boston, and as the only means which he could obtain, they were obliged to ride the whole distance, 60 miles, during the memorable cold days of February last, in an open wagen. He made no noisy complaints. Colored people have learned to bear, but they can feel. It was, however only by particular inquiry that we learned these facts. He received an appointment from the Baptist Board, and sailed for Port au Prince, in April.
>
> Mr. Munroe received his education at the Parsippany (N. J.) school, when it was in existence. He

ALABAMA WATCHMAN.-EXTRA. ATHENS, (Ala.) August 22, 1835. PUBLIC MEETING.

At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of thens, and of Limestone County, according to previous otice, at the Court-house on Tuesday the 18th inst., on otion, Capt. Wm. Mason was called to the Chair; and Francis H. Ford appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting, was explained by Col. John W. Lane, at some length. On motion of Col. Lane that a committee be appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions expressive of the views of the meeting, the following gentlemen were ed-Col. John W. Lane, Rev. Jeremiah Tucker appointed—Uol. John W. Lune, Rev. Hobbs, Mr. Gabriel G. S. Houston, Esq. Mr. Ira E. Hobbs, Mr. Gabriel Smith, Mr. James Craig, Mr Wm. T. Gamble, and David M. Crawford, Esq. The Committee after retiring a short time, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which UNANIMOUSLY adopted

Whereas. from the recent expulsion of Black-legs and Gamblers from the adjoining States, and those who have no visible means, and who follow no employment for support, but live upon the labor of others, filching from the thoughtless and unwary, their hard earned savings, by

And whereas, from recent developments of an organ-ized band of abolition fanatics of the Northern States, headed in part by Garrison, Tappan, Cox, Thompson, May and JAMES G. BIRNEY, of Kentucky, with others, se sole and avowed object, is to sow the seed of discord, rapine, and murder, among the slaves of the South. The ed accession to the recently organized Societies at the North, their increased zeal, accumulating means, and multiplying presses, teeming with the most slanderous and ran-corous abuse of the slaveholding population of the South. se of the slaveholding population of the South, thus encouraging insubordination and insurrection among our domestic circle, are acts looked upon with the greatest indignation by the community. What then remains for us? Shall we fold our arms and be still until the storm eps over us, and the earth shakes beneath us? No We will not declare to the world that we will defend our ties and our property which the Constitution of our intry has guaranteed to us. But having rights and ing them, we shall dare maintain them.

Therefore resolved. That a Committee of Vigilance to twenty be appointed, a majority of whom shall ave power to act, whose duty it shall be to take such ares, and use such means, as they may deem proper, n bringing to public view and whipping, all Black-legs Gamblers, or other idle, suspicious persons, who may lo ter about our town or country without any visible

teans of support.

Resolved, That said Committee use all energetic mea in ferreting out, and detecting any person or persons that may attempt to circulate among the community, any phlet, tract, or other seditious publication of any kind natever; or tampering with slaves, with a view to excite n; and upon proof of such fact, to inflict upon ch person or persons death, which is the penalty of our atute for such offences, or such other punishment as they

may think proper.

Resolved, That we recommend to the citizens of each Captain's heat in the county, to appoint a Committee of Vigilance, whose duty it shall be to apprehend all suspicious persons, who may be found in their respective neigh-borhoods and bring them before the general Committee of

Vigilanc cat Athens, for examination. Resolved, That we pledge to the community, our lives, fortunes and our s acred honors, to sustain the course which may be pursued by the Committee of Vigilance, in virtue of the above resolutions, in pledge of which, we sub scribe our proper names.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to keep th

resolutions open four weeks to afford an opportunity for all to sign their names who desire so to do. Resolved, That said Committee shall have power to fill

all vacancies which may accrue therein. In virtue of the first resolution the following gentlem

were appointed the Committee of Vigilance, to wit:— William T. Gamble Silas Hine James Craig James M. Coman John Maples Alexander Word Samuel Tanner Ira E. Hobbs Gabriel Smith John R. Evans George S. Houston Daniel Coleman George Malone Jeremiah Tucker David M. Crawford John W. Lane William Mason Bartley Cox Francis H. Ford Luke Matthews

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be igned by the Chairman, and countersigned by the Secretary, and published in the Alabama Watchman. WM, MASON, Chairman.

FRANCIS H. FORD, Secretary.

MR. BIRNEY'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN. A No. of the Alabama Watchman, containing the foregoing account of the proceedings of a "public meeting," lately held in Athens, has reached me, enveloped as newspapers usually are, when sent by mail:—An Extra of that Journal, containing duplicate accounts of the same proceedings, carefully enclosed in a blank wrapper, sealed and they are somewhat distinguished for their good faith they are somewhat distinguished for their good faith also been sent to me, and received. All this care, to convey speedy and authentic information of the notice you have been pleased to take of one, who had little reason to expect such conspicuity as you have given him, it is to be presumed, has been exercised by your agency and direction. In this reply, which after no hurried reflection, I have thought proper to make to your proceedings. I shall take up but little make to your proceedings, I shall take up but little life, it is believed, they are not behind any other detime in noticing what was done, that is strictly personal to myself. I will stop only long enough to remind you—especially, that portion of you, who pro-fess to be followers of Christ, of the unjust impres-sion you have attempted to make on those to whom I am a stranger, by associating me, in your proceedings, with "gamblers, blacklegs, and suspicious persons." It is well known to you all, that, with laborious diligence, I prosecuted in your country, and with no mean success, a profession, arduous in its du-ties, and to a conscientious mind, heset with difficulties and temptations. To the generousness of my practice, the Bar will testify—and, with parties and witnesses, bear record of my exemption from the petty tricks and advantages which bring the profession into disrepute. Knowing me, by an acquaintance of many years, as you did—in my profession,—as a member of the church—as a citizen—you have tried to produce an impression that you knew to be unjust and injurious: as Christians, and as gentlemen—now, that you have had time for reflection—you ally believe to be most expedient. In every point of contest with the correct and calculate the calculate uld be sorry and ashamed of it.

I will not, by pleading your example-although it may be, a full moiety of your number are by profesand denuntiatory language. In you, the first use of such language is unbecoming. For me to use it, after having witnessed, in this instance, its ugliness, would be wholly inexcusable. Banishing then, every thing like ill-will, or resentment, I would reply the word of the constitution of laws of any of the States. Of the Constitution or laws of any of the States. Of their yet having done so,—or of their having written, in any or "I constitution or laws of any of the States." In the prosecution of the enslaved of this land—they have neither violated, nor intended to violate, any provision of the Constitution or laws of any of the States. Of their yet having done so,—or of their having written, unto this time a single sentence, which are observed. Christians-seek to justify the use of violent to you "more in sorrow than in anger." I cannot but remember, that there are among you, those with whom I have passed many and pleasant years of professional intercourse—with whom I have had no excite an insurgent spirit among the oppressed, they other strife than intellectual and professional,—and degree, to hinder our taking sweet counsel, and sitting often together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. I am led to believe, that the present is an occasion resident with the country of the country this so honorable, so courteous, and so kind, as in no

common country, to which my love is no less than yours.

No way presents itself in which I can more successfully accomplion a service of this kind, than by correcting some of the material errors into which you and other advocates of slavery have fallen, in relation to the character, object, means, &c., of those who are known by the name of abelitionists. If now, you are, at length, emancipated from the dominion of those infamed passions, by which it is evident, during your proceedings, you were held captive and prepared to bring to the consideration of what I shall, in truth and sincerity tell you, the calm and prepared to bring to the consideration of what I shall, in truth and sincerity tell you, the calm and enlightened judgment, which I know, was possessed in former times, by some of your committee—your

"The land of the free and the home of the brave."

1. The character of abolitionits. Although, there s among them a considerable number of high-minded, just and intelligent men, who are connected with no religious sect, yet the great majority are Christians, by profession, and found among the most active, zealous, and well-informed classes of the several churches to which they respectively belong. In England, they would fall under the contemptuous designation of "Methodists"-the name by which the working men of all the churches there, both the established and dissenting, are called, when spoken of by the irreligious part of the community, or by their more indolent and fashionable brethren. It is not meant, that ell belonging to the most zealous, active, and well-informed classes in their respective churches in this country are abolitionists. By no means. Yet, it is chiefly by drawing upon them. that the abolitionists have increased their numbers from the mere handful of two years ago, to-it may be-40,000, as stated in a meeting of southern slaveholders held recently in New York. It is a slaveholders held recently in New great mistake, to suppose that they have an over proportion of youth. True it is, that many young men buoyant with virtuous expectation, of the soundest hearts, and most cultivated minds, are swelling their number and adding to their efficiency—and that there are among them men, venerable fo age and wisdom, who have done the State and Church much service, and who must soon, according to the ordinary course of nature be called hence to reward-yet the great body is made up of men of middle age, possessing in their fullest vigor, all their mental powers. Those who are reposnatural and ing on what they have done-whose fame is built on the foundation of things as they are now, and who, in the greatness of their alarm at the least moral agitation of the community, seem to forget that "God reigns;" or who are too inert, and too much at ease for renewed effort to seize on the land that yet remains to be possessed,—such are rarely to be found in the busy and stirring ranks of abolitionism.

Believing, according to the promises of God, in the conversion of the world, and that his truth, wielded by human agency, is the great instrument to effect it, they have not been backward in giving their aid to every benevolent movement at all connected with this great object. For the support of Foreign and Domestic Missions-for the largest distribution of the Bible,—for Sunday Schools—for the Tract and Education causes, and for the establishment and endowment of colleges, especially where most needed. they have been liberal in their donations.

Advocating principles, and believing all that are truly such will, when fairly developed, and fully carried out into action, operate beneficially, abolitionists are thorough-going in favor of public moral reformation. . Having abandoned the use of ardent spirits, because they contained alcohol, and are intoxicating in their effects, they refrain from every other drink that is alcoholic and that produces intoxication. Thus, wine, cider, beer, and all the other disguises of alcoholic poison are excluded from their -If I mistake not, tobacco has, generally, shared the same fate. In my journey last spring through Ohio, and to the East, where I was brought in company with a large number of abolitionists, I remember but one who seemed to be in the habitual use of tobacco.——Some of them, and by no means, a few of the younger abolitionists, from considerations of health and economy, as well as other reasons, have relinquished the use of tea and coffee substituting for them in most cases, water or milk. To my surprise, at many houses, whose hospitality I received, in addition to tea and coffee, at breakfast and supper, a pitcher of pure water was regularly placed on the table—and to my still greater surprise, more frequent use was made of it than of the other liquids.

A large and growing number of them-by no means confined to the Friends-have embraced, what are beginning to be known by name of peace-princi-These principles deny to nations the right of making war, either offensive or defensive—and to individuals the right of assaulting others in any case, or of defending their persons or property, if it must be done at the expense of the guilty tresspassor's These, say they, are the principles of the gos-

charged with a double rate of postage (unpaid,) has also been sent to me, and received. All this care, of their demeanor-nor do they appreciate less highly than others the happiness which springs from its endearments.

As church members,-notwithstanding the violent denunciations to which they have been subjected even from their fellow-christians, because of their uncompromising advocacy of the cause of liberty, as immediately connected with the poor and perishing and neglected among us—no instance, so far as it is known, is to be found where they have been brought under the discipline of their churches for unchristian

and disorderly conduct. As citizens,-they are not identified with any of the political parties into which the country is divided. of contact with the government, they have shewn themselves obedient to the laws and faithful in the discharge of their civil duties. They allege, and, it is believed, truly,—that, in the prosecution of their object, the emancipation of the enslaved of this land—they have neither violated, nor intended to violate, any of the Constitution or laws of any of the States. Of their yet having done so,—or of their having written, up to this time, a single sentence, which—even if the slaves of the south could read and had access to asant years of their writings-has any legitimate tendency to utterly deny—and demand other proof of it, than is to be found in the furious clamor of the slaveholders,

will feel better, safer, happier, in the conviction, discussed with the most calm and unruffled compowill feel better, safer, happier, in the conviction, that, so far from that portion of your brethren and fellow-citizens whom you have charged with trying to bring upon you the sudden consummation of calamities to which they see you exposed, and which in the follest and the falsest charges of moral and political turpitude; whilst there were produced to their assemblies, placards, calling on the ities to which they see you exposed, and which, or themselves, if let alone, now for a long time linger mob for appropriate deeds, and designating the time reluctant slaves; or if his neighbors should permit not—their first wish is, to avert them, to save you and place of holding their meetings, that its violence any discussion of the wrongs of tyrants and the rights not—their first wish is, to avert them, to save you and place of nothing their inectings, that is to realist, what point it might know at what point it might most effectually of men, he should regard it as a hostile interference or raising the song of praise, or uniting in the prayer of faith, does the sound of the overseer's lash, or the of sedate deliberation, of sober conclusion, of digni- least, for a withdrawal of his friendship, if not for fied moderation, sanctified by earnest prayer to God not only for the oppressor of his fellow—not only for such as they loved, but for their slanderers and persecutors and enemies.

The above is a fair account, so far as my knowedge enables me to speak, of the character of those whom you are pleased to describe as "a band of fanatical abolitionists." Light and rash minds, unaccustomed to penetrate to the real causes of great revolutions in public sentiment, will of course, think and speak contemptuously of them-whilst the philosophic observer clearly sees, that such antagonists of error, armed with so powerful a weapon as the Truth, must, at all times, be invincible, and, that, in

the end, they will be triumphant. of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and is, generally, reiterated, in the Constitutions of the auxiliary societies. I safely hazard the assertion, that in the multiplied publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society; in all the speeches and addresses and discussions of its agents and intelligent advocates, no other object is proposed-and this, only through the power of the truth applied to the understandings and of the consciences of slaveholders to persuade them to do their bor! duty. Now, of me and the other gentlemen you world, that our "sole object" discord, rapine and murder, among the slaves of the must be extinguished, and our own house left described. and you affirm, as witnesses, who know the late and dark! south truth, that we have so "AVOWED" it. do, that, at the time you gave this testimony, there I say to you, as honorable men and as Christians, of your course? I will not retort the language of abuse entitled to LIBERTY—with myrmidon bands you rush any thing be said in extenuation more favorable that passion had usurped the seat of reason—had banished memory from its station, and left you to the undished memory from its station, and left you to the undished sway of a disordered imagination, busy in minished, when it is seen how rapidly slavery is you are making men, property, God's image, merchandisputed sway of a disordered imagination, busy in minished, when it is seen how rapidly slavery is you are making men, property, God's image, merchandisputed sway of a disordered imagination, busy in minished, when it is seen how rapidly slavery is you are making to the level of brutes beings ranked and disciples of the reigning system of ethics, which makes a false statement less criminal when it is little while ago—when slavery was deplored in the asserted of many than of few-of those we call our south, not only as an evil of large dimensions, but enemies than of our friends, or of those who are persecuted than of those who are popular? Elect your own scheme of palliation, still, as gentlemen and Christians, you owe it to the claims of honor and truth to furnish the evidence of your accusation, or wtih the magnanimity becoming both characters, acknowledge, with contrition, your shame for having prefer-

red it. The object, then, of the abolitionists is, to bring slavery in the United States to a termination. Now by itself, independently of the means to be usedwhich we will consider bye and bye—it is a good all decent regard to their character, as to challenge object,—one in which I would not do you the injusfor a moment, to suppose, you would not I will not attribute to gentlemen heartily approve. of your respectability and intelligence, the slightest approximation to that brutism, which would light-because of its fitness and propriety-in seeing one race of men, year after year, generation after generation, century after century, increasing from tens to hundreds, from hundreds to thousands, from thousands to millions, performing unrequited toil, suffering bodily outrages and torments, and consigned to mental darkness and spiritual hopelessness-merely that another race might live in ease and indolence, and enjoy all the pleasures of despotic sway. . No will I suppose, that if two strangers were to meet in a wilderness, and the stronger to reduce the weaker to the condition of a southern slave, that you would refuse to unite, even with the veriest fanatic in the land, in raising against such violence and abuse, the loudest note of condemnation;-nor that any right claimed by the oppressor could receive the least confirmation, or the wrong of the sufferer be at all mitigated, by the wrong-doer's pleading the habits of domination and cruelty and indulgence into which he and his family had fallen, from the long continuance of the relation his own outrage had set up. Nc, gentlemen. In such a case you would decide at once, and correctly too, that every moment's denial of the right was a continuance of the wrongonly aggravation to its intensity, and furnishing fresh

reason for its termination Nicholas, had not a friend, whilst he was drenching his hands in the blood of his Polish subjects, goaded by oppression to revolt. No The faintest ray of hope for their success in vindicating their liberty warmed your every heart; the clang of the Polish falchion called slaveholding, is sinful—awfully sinful before on the invader's casque made music delightful to your ears; whilst for every blade that was raised by an arm that struck for liberty, your silent orisons went up, that it might descend with resistless energy upon the strongest of the oppressor's band. Your prayers ascended not, for the staying of the pestilence, that was sweeping off the thousands of the foe—and when at last, after the struggle of despair, the sun of Poland's hope went down in tears of blood, it was followed by your tears of sorrow-whilst in ournful sympathy with the poet you exclaimed,-

"Hope for a season bids the world farewell, And Freedom shrieked when Shrejeneski fell."

But stay-not so fast:-is it not "fanatical," thus for the oppressed—and is it not "incendiary" for at any time, propitious to your Christian growth, or you here, to reprobate the cruelty of the tyrant, or, to for the oppressed-and is it not "incendiary "disturbers of the peace?" every question. You have not heard the highand chivalrous Emperor's account of this matter. You have not heard from his own lips of the great "delicacy of the subject"—nor have you properly appreciated his "peculiar circumstances." your furious zeal," we may suppose him to say, you have forgotten altogether, that however wrong might have been the dismemberment of Poland, and the first reduction, of its inhabitants to political servitude, that, now they had become accustomed to itthat they were exceedingly degraded,* totally unqualified for liberty, many of them being Jews, who would neither amalgamate with Christians, nor Christians with them-that therefore they never can be free in their native land,—the only way to elevate them to a proper sense and enjoyment of freedom, being to transport them to the hospitable and health ful shores of Palestine (which is impossible,) or, for me to retain the power, I now possess over them using it, of course, with a merciful discretion, as I have always done, and solely for their good; making casion providentially offered for the promotion of slaveholding avarice and passion—traitors to the some good end. As such I will attempt to use it—for your benefit—for my own—and for that of our common country, to which my love is no less than excuses for inveterated habits of oppression-tha they were introduced by his very worthy autocrati-Last spring, I attended the Ohio Anti-Slavery cal ancestors, who themselves being oppressors, had transmitted the fashion to their descendants, and now without any agency of his, he had it "entailed" him. Beside, may he not well have urged, that his power would be curtailed, his wealth diminished, and his princely ease broken in upon, by removing the weight of his oppression? And still more fiercely, that the oppressed were his "property"—that it was his own concerns—that no other people knew any thing about it, or had any interest in it—and that, if any canting sympathy for his subjects (contented and happy he knew they were, if meddlers would let

*"The peasantry are in a wretched condition, dirty, improvident, indolent, addicted to intoxication, and, of course

siring to show mercy and do justice-but rather as threats, his feigned excuses for practising an iniquity, he has not the magnanimity to forsake.

Thus far you and the abolitionist "walk together," in admiring the beauty and comeliness of liberty, But at this point you separate. He loves her as a substantial good, for himself, his neighbor, his counthe world:-you admire her as good in the "abstract"—or, as having her habitation at a dis-tance—in Ireland—in Poland—or in Greece. But emblems of Christ's body and blood—your souls 2. Their object,—is the abolition of slavery in the let her blazing beacon, begin to sweep over the At-banquetting at the table of his love,—at one moment United States. This is expressed in the Constitution lantic and approach our shores, and its warmth to be melted down into tears at the recollection of his sufferings for your state and approach our shores, and its warmth to be felt near your cotton-bales, your rice-tierces, and your sufferings for you-at the next, swelling out with sugar-hogsheads-let but "England's flag,"

Proclaim that all around is free, From "farthest Ind" to each blue crag, That beetles o'er the western sea!

oh, how fanatical! how visionary! how suicidal to her own interest, how destructive to those of the oppressed! and how injurious to her neigh-

Now, what a shame is this! Lovers of freedom have associated with me, you have published to the are ye?-And well content, that her fires should blaze, is, to sow the seed of and warm and purify abroad-whilst, at home, they Lovers of liberty are ve?-And vet. Knowing as I whilst the abolitionist is striving to uprear her falling standard in our country, that all the world may see were no facts in existence to verify it, what now shall its broad folds waving in the purest air of heaven, and vilification—it is torn from my vocabulary. Can to seize, that you may consume it in the furnace of than a sugar-house, or bury it forever in the marshes of a

American church. Time was—and it ended but a registered by God, a little lower than the angels as a transgression of the great law of love; which, whilst it could not be justified, yet some palliation was found for it, in the peculiar circumstances of that portion of the country-and a hope often expressed, that, in some way or other, it might terminate. No section of the church was, then, found so besotted as to become its advocate and supporter on principle, and take God's book of love as their warrant for holding their brethern in a bondage, unequalled for its enormities even among Mohammedans or Pagans of modern times; nor so reckless of enslaved here, as to morals and physical comforts, above what it would have been had they remained in Africa; or to set off against their iniquity the few instances of conversion to Christ, by which God,

in the greatness of his mercy has chosen to exalt his name, and make it glorious, among the downtrodden and the perishing of a Christian land. all this has been done-not by a few ignorant and ironhearted slave-driving professors of religion, but by the accredited organs of different churches in the south, claiming high stations on the scale of general intelligence, biblical knowledge and spiri-

tual purity.

Now I ask you, if, to men zealous for the honor of God, and for the glory of his church, it is nothing which should rouse them to effort, to see such a sys tem of "peace on earth and good will to men" menacing the whole land by its rapidly extending and darkening influence? Is it nothing that should animate them to holy, untiring action, to see millions of their countrymen and fellow-creatures in chains, in their midst,-to know, that, each day, those chains are becoming heavier and more galling; to witness generation succeeding generation with minds sunk deeper in ignorance, and hearts in savagism,-whilst from multitudes of them is forced the exclamation of Hope because the -And shall all this exist, and its continuance be insisted on,—shall it become indurated, and this, too, by the sanction of a church professing to be Nor, do I believe, hateful as is the very name of God's, and by a people professing before Him and abolitionists to slaveholders, that you would refuse the world to have put on bowels of compassion, and to mingle your sympathies with theirs for the oppressed of other lands. In all our south, the tyrant found to "cry aloud, to spare not, to lift up their voice like a trumpet, and shew his people their trans-gression, and the house of Jacob their sins?"

I do not intend, here to enter into any scriptural God-because it is the greatest wrong you can do your neighbor. I know, with what nimbleness you from the light of the existing dispensation to the fly comparative darkness of the past, and, now, like the unhappy Gadarene, possessed with anunclean spirit, you have made your dwelling among the tombs (of Abraham and Moses) and how always, night and day'you are cutting yourselves with stones, and crying out to every one who would draw you thence, 'torment me not!' I will not pursue you thither. But, of you who profess to be Christians, I would askand with no taunting or insulting purpose-has the thing called, slavery, as you practice it, (and I do not intend to say that in the treatment of your suffer the honest feelings of your nature to go out slaves you differ from your neighbors) been found, mmiserate the afflictions of such contemptible cially the "bishop" on your committee) on whipping a fellow-being, to extract from him services which only slavery authorizes you to demand, had some misgivings, that you are, what God has said you ought not to be "a striker?"—when you wrest from him all the avails of his labor-except what will keep him in good condition to renew it-does it never occur to you, that you are "greedy of filthy lucre"—"covetous?" And when you are under the necessity—even though it be to maintain the disci-pline that slavery calls for—of flagellating, by yourself, or your overseer, some half dozen of your poor and helpless brethern whom, you say, God has committed to your care, does it never strike you, as somewhat inconsistent with what he has told you by his messenger-"the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men?" Again,-has it never once entered your minds, whilst attending the marts for human flesh, established in your towns and villages, that the slaver who supplies them is but your agent,-and whilst he recounts to you his horrible adventures of husbands without a moment's warning torn from the wives of their bosom, and loaded with chains, and driven like cattle for a thousand miles, on the highways of this Christian land; of the wife and mother in the phrenzy of separation, calling on Heaven and Earth to restore to her the husband and the children of her love, and to blast the wretch who is tearing her from them forever; now standing before you in the stillness of dispair; the tear, started by the memory of former joys, coursing its way down her wan and haggard cheek Have you seen this and has not conscience, stifled and sepulcred almost as it has been, still wrung from you the silent acknowledgment, this is my work? When you are casting in your contributions to provide for the distribution of the Bible in foreign lands, what are your feelings, on recollecting, that you withold it from your "domestic circle," whose peace and quietness so much concern you? And does it cheer you, whilst praying for the heathen of does it cheer you, whilst praying for the headed you do this, it distant climes, to have the idea rise before your net violated a single st minds, that you are, as far as in you lies, maintaining here, in your own country, at your own door, in partial court and jury.

In the stillness of the evening, whilst your white family are assembled around God's altar, and are distant cry of his victim suffering the penalty of an the holy Sabbath, for the refreshment of your own souls, you frequent the place where God's honor dwelleth, does it add fuel to the fires of your devothe guilty subterfuges of a base, and selfish and cowardly despot, who has the meanness to back with tion, to know, that your twenty, fifty, or, it may be, your hundred slaves, worn down by the labors of the by-gone week, are dozing away the time in their hovels—or roaming over the country like vagabonds, with no one-not even those who claim their guardianship by Providential allotment—to care for their souls; and that there is not present one to receive with you the blessings of a time and place so the joys, unutterable yet irrepressible, of his great salvation,-does it never rush like the sudden pang of death to your hopes, that you are joined hand in hand with oppressors who have power, deliberately, willfully, and this too, for the gold, whose rust shall eat your flesh as fire, to withold from your "neigharound you all knowledge of that salvation all participation in its hopes and all the exultation of I know how this cancer on your minds affects the

most conscientious among you. Therefore of such I confidently ask, if the oppression of the colored race among you, as you practise it, is not an undyeing worm, gnawing, day and night, into the very core of your religious enjoyments—and if you do not find, however good and gentle, when compared with others you may be in the treatment of your slaves, that slavery, as it exists in your own "domestic circle" oseize, that you may consume it in the furnace of day after day, and hour after hour, is distilling its a di wresting from their rightful owner the legacies which their Maker has bequeathed them, inaliena-ble birthright endowments exchanged for no equivalent, unsurrendered by volition and unforfeited by crime-breaking open the sanctuary of human rights and making its sacred things common plunder, driving to the shambles Jehovah's image, herded with fourfooted beasts and creeping things, and bar-tering for vile dust, the purchase of a Redeemer's blood and the living members of his body? How can it be otherwise, whilst you are maintaining a system, which derides the sanctity with which God invests the domestic relations, annihilates marriage, makes void parental authority,-nullifies filial obligation-invites the violation of chastity by denying it legal protection-thus bidding God speed to lust as it riots at noon-day, glorying in the immuni-ties of law? Are you looking for the great peace that is promised to them who love God's law, whilst, in defiance of all the light God has given you, you maintain a system, which stamps as a crime, obedi-ence to the command "search the scriptures"—repeals the law of love, -abrogates the "golden rule;" exacts labor without recompence—authorizes the forcible sundering of kindred, and cuts off forever from the pursuit of happiness? Do you hope for the "peace" which the Saviour left his followers, whilst you persist in a course, which prohibits the acquisition of knowledge by the terror of penaltieseclipses intellect-stifles the native instincts of the heart-precipitates in death-damps the upward aspirations of the spirit-startles its victims with present perils—peoples the future with apprehended horrors, palsies the moral sense, whelms in despair, and kills the soul?

If slavery is now despoiling you of your christian peace and polluting your spirtual enjoyments; if it is rendering you not only ineficient, but, by your example, injurious in the great work of evangelizing the world; if, in fine, it has so corrupted the church. that she is beginning to receive as one of her dog mas, that the bitterest form of oppression known to the world, is not displeasing to God, or opposed by his word; it would seem almost useless to look to any other quarter whatever for the benefits. But, lest it might be supposed we would withhold what you might regard as benefits, we will bring into brief review such of them as may be called *political* benefits, their connection with the great principles of our government and the cause of universal freedom.

When we were in our utmost need-straining, not only to produce united action among ourselves, but for the good opinion and the sympathy of the world, we proclaimed as a truth fundamental to all governments, "that all men are created equal, and possess rights that are inalienable, to their and the pursuit of happiness." At this you have jeer-ed, you have baptized it "a rhetorical flourish"—you have ridiculed it as well as the distinguished revolutionary statesman who first conceived and published it, and you have, from the time of its promulgation, till now, lived down, and continue to live down. as much as in you lies, this great truth, without which our government is no longer worthy of a serious effort for its preservation.

What has slavery acting through the south done for the freedom of Speech and of the Press, those great conservatives of our government. I will tell you. It has used the refinements of metaphysics and the delusions of sophistry to explain away the obvious meaning of constitutional provisions enacted for their preservation; it has claimed for itself the peculiar favoritism of the Constitution of the United States; it has reared itself aloft on a bloody throne, demanding, with lash in hand, of States sovereign as itself, that all their rights should bow in submission to her and "do her reverence;" that her dignity must he regarded as a thing too holy to be handled; and that this common right of the people be restrained, lest her sacred mysteries be profaned by men of "unclean lips," and the secret things of her penetra-lia be exposed by freemen to the rude gaze of a vul-

gar world What has it done for the security of the citizens under the Constitution and laws of the land? You shall hear. It has mocked at Constitutions and laws —it has raised up tribunals unkonwn, and opposed to them both—it has instituted inquisitions and invested them with power to execute punishments not only of disgrace but even unto death; it has set aside the trial by jury, and freemen of our country have been apprehended on suspicion, and without any of crime known to the laws, they have been shamefully treated, they have been ignominiously scourged as slaves are scourged—and they have been executed on the boughs of your trees, whilst the once sacred appeal, "I am an American citizen," has been drowned by the deafening shouts of a lawcontemning rabble.

offered large rewards for the forcible a felonious abduction of some of the most worthy citizens of other States, for the exercise of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitutions unde

they live, and by her own also. She has preferred indictments and had them returned, true bills, against citizens of other governments; who have never been within her jurisdiction; who are not bound on any principle to possess a know-ledge of her laws—merely that she might have a pretence to get them into her power. You assert, they have violated your laws—yet you have offered no proof by the publication of a single statute. Until you do this, it is fearlessly affirmed, that they have not violated a single statute of a southern State, for which they could be convicted by an honest and imracter, to connect any abolitionist, with any actua-or meditated insurrection, either by his personal or meditated insurrection, either by his personal agency, or by means of any anti-slavery publication. On the contrary, you have gone to the north, and by your personal agency, and your publications have stirred up the disorderly and the lawless of the citizens to repeated insurrections against the Constitu-tion and laws of several of the States; you have forcibly prevented the people from 'peaceably assembling' and discussing the propriety of 'petitioning the government for a redress of grievances, —you have vi-olated the constitutional right of the people, 'to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects from unreasonable searches and seizures'—you have excited your instruments, to war against associations of unoffending, and respectible females; to trample under their unhallowed feet in the person of an American citizen; the most sacred immunities of law to celebrate their foul orgies in the face of day; and to shout their fierce triumphs over constitutional rights almost in the vestibule of the "CRADLE OF LIBERTY."

bales, she would unite with you in the persecution

sacred honor" to defend. District of Columbia,-that they petition not their

gislatures, your Judiciary, and by holding out, in the the picture of a man catching at straws. 6. Admitthem-almost as fabulous and appertaining to a state what recompense do you propose to them for a reimquishment of their rights as a people? None, absolutely none. But surely some great advantage will accrue to yourselves—some signal and enduring benefit will be secured to you and your posterity from such a sacrifice of principle. And what is it? No more than sacrifice of principle. And what is it? No more than the feed and they your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their network as a people? None, absolutely none. But surely some great advantage will be secured to you and your posterity from such a sacrifice of principle. And what is it? No more than the feed and they your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their networks as a people? None, absolutely none. But surely some great advantage will be secured to you and your posterity from such a sacrifice of principle. And what is it? No more than the feed as the feed of the point who has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has the press at some other point who has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has the press, to establish the press at some other point who has it been with you as it is now. His light has the pense, to establish the press at some other point who has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has the press, to establish the press at some other point who has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now. His light has it been with you as it is now the press, to establis more, daily jeoparding our integrity as a nation; which sets at defiance the Almighty, who has invari-

remark,-one, which, I doubt not, in its application swer to the objection. to other subjects, you will admit to be correct—that the manner of enforcing the truth does by no means of men well described as "man-stealers." The excuse them to whom it is addressed from the obligation Mediterranean, and the smaller seas connected with but who, with a full determination to persist, have ment near the coast, they seized on the inhabitants, the pluck it out"-"if thy right hand offend thee cut have been, to such piratical man-stealers that the rattling peels of thunder rouse up its slumbering mention as a class distinct from the actual kidnapunchained, has not the devil. During the snug and penetrated to the prevailing distinction of our more dormouse sleep of conscience, this same devil with enlightened age, which makes such a wide discrimhis confederates had entered the apartments slavery ination between the guilt of the original captors, and cry at seeing free and unfettered his great adversary, to an unworthy white neighbor-the latter knowing conscience, God's vicegerent, clothed in His power with wine, sweeping to his revenge.*

But we will proceed to particularize objections. 1. You allege that the publications are "incendiary" they actually tend to excite the slaves to insurrection

If such was really the purpose of the abolition-ists, they pursue the most unwise means for its ac-uncharitable under any code of Ethics with which I complishment, acting as they do, with a design before them, in addition to the names of "fanatics" and 'incendiaries" so liberally bestowed on them, they could easily establish their claim to the still more unenviable one of "Fools." But let me ask of you, in all soberness and christian charity, to consider the reasons I shall give, to prove the total improbability of such a design being indulged by them.

are, as I said in a preceding part of this answer, opposed to violence and war, even for the attainment of purposes of judicial investigation to make a distinction right. Their conscientions adherence to them they

The South allege, that the opposers of slavery excite their slaves to discontent and insurrection. You have condehave had no insurrection of which you have condehave had no insurrection. You to this city;—not only as a pleasant place to dwell in, to a person who could find inducements in the intelligence of those arround him, and in the religious influence which, centrated energies and mighty resources, in pushing its was supposed, prevailed in it—but it was supposed, prevailed in it—but it was supposed, prevailed in it—but it was supposed, prevailed in the pursuit of truth, and who have could find inducements in the intelligence of those arround him, and in the religious influence which, centrated energies and mighty resources, in pushing its was supposed, prevailed in it—but it was supposed, prevailed in it—but in the prevailed in it—but in the religious influence with the religious influence which, centrated energies and mighty resources, in the religious influence with the religious influence with the religious influence with the religious influence with the religio cal party and condition in life, of every age and ner in which the spoil came into the slaver's hands; But this is not all;—you have threatened the North with a cessation of friendly intercourse—to bar out ly, the assertion, that there are not two hundred who christian gentleman? Is this the judgment according her teachers, and her ministers of religion; to put in can read understandingly a single tract published at to God's standard? I speak as unto wise menpractice an intolerable system of individual espion-practice an intolerable system of individual espion-the Anti-Slavery office. The publications, so far as judge ye. the reading is concerned, would be as harmless, if taunted her with meanness; you have flouted her for scattered through your parlors, and on your sofas say, they will hear no argument on the subject of slataunted her with meanness; you have flouted her for learning the factorage of yoursugar-hogsheads and your cotton the subject of slavery cannot, both, five the factorage of yoursugar-hogsheads and your cotton the subject of slavery cannot, both, five mendation to their own breasts, gave it the highest recommendation to their own breas

civilized and a christian people -by a people yet free; auxiliaries-"This society will never, in any way, to whom all the rights you have so often and so in- countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights sultingly trampled on are, still precious, and by by resorting to physical force." In the multiplied whom, those you yet demand to have surrendered to cales, fabricated to connect abolitionists with the reyou, are considered as indispensable to their hap- cent servile tumults, whether real or imaginary, of you, are considered as managed to their hard the south,—there has been no proof, so far as I know what recompense do you propose to them for a relin- of any effect having been produced in exciting them. and this only, the very pith and marrow of your defound in the hands of the slave population—none of does He ask sacrifices of love? Of his church—of

that cannot be borne. Now, it is very true, and we with peril even unto death: This characteristics of our fellow-citizens. It is to bear their apwhom he has said "nothing shall harm you."—Yet of the north, on the dearest liberties of our fellow-citizens. to be pursued at home;—nor, in fine, to any of that patmore, daily jeoparding our integrity as a nation; which sets at defiance the Almighty, who has invariably pursued it with his curse, demonstrated in the corruption and effemination of every people who have persisted in maintaining it.

And now, gentlemen, it may be, that your objections to my manner of telling you the truth may very tions to my manner of telling you the truth may very tons to my manner of telling you the truth may very tons to my manner of telling you the truth may very tons to my manner of telling you the truth may very tons to my manner of telling you the truth may very tons to my manner of telling you the truth may tend to moished (fas est ab hoste doceri) to reform that country—immediate righteousness will dessolate the south, and convert its rich fields naturally lead me to the consideration of the means naturally lead me to the consideration of the means are all witnesses how difficult its to bear their abwhom he has said "nothing shall harm you."—Yet you refuse, but you star by ou refuse, but you star by our refuse, but you star by our refuse, but you star by our refuse of the north, on the dearest liberties of our fellow-citizens. Not knowing, that any good purpose will be answered, by going further into particulars, and reviving recollections with the very influence God bestowed on you to be disagreable to others; and, beleving that the for them in the Department last mentioned, near their course of life which has brought the bad name upon use. Sure it is, however, if the ballance be struck
whom he has said "nothing shall harm you."—Yet you not only refuse, but you star.
Not knowing, that any good purpose will be answered, by going further into particulars, and reviving recollections the bedy-guard of slavery in the breach, beating back the friends of you refuse.—You not only refuse, but you star you refuse.—You not only refuse, but you star you refuse:—you not only refuse, but you star you refuse:—you not only refuse, but you star you refuse:—you not only refuse, but you star you no naturally lead me to the consideration of the means used by the abolitionists for accomplishing their observed and their opposers, the latter of their opposers, the latter opposers, the latter of their opposers of their opposers, the latter of their opposers of their opposers, the latter of their opposers length than I would wish, were I able to embody so great, and in a coin so pure, and so thoroughly says, No. But, admit it to be true, and that you are brought to suffer in your estate, to have your ease

which the knowledge of it imposes. All men who are engaged in a course of life for which their consiences branch of whose business was man-stealing. Wherearraigned and condemned them time after time, ver they were able to overpower a village or settle drugged it with opiates till it has fallen asleep, and reduced them to bondage, and sold them in other lands een chained, are pleased with a gentle manner, for slaves. So formidable had they become, in the with the slighest tap at the door of its cell. They will time of Pompey the Great, that his eulogist, Cicero, bear, and that cheerfully too, any pleasing sounds in one of his most labored and eloquent orations, which but sooth its slumber. But if one come in the makes it ground of high praise, in recounting Pomspirit of John who reproved an incestuous tyrant for pey's merits as a commander, that he had conducted his sin, or of Him who said "if thy right eye offend to a fortunate conclusion the piratical war. It may off," and rudely slave in the door, and with Apostle especially referred. It is true, he does not tenant, striking off his chains, and giving him pers, those who became the purchasers, and the holdfull enlargement with commands to execute his sav- ers and users through life, of their fellow-men thus ing office, forthwith it is said "he hath a devil." reduced to bondage. We are left to conjecture, as Now, if you will bear it, the abolitionist, who has roused your sleeping conscience, and turned it loose not discern any real difference, and that he had not provided for him, finding them empty, swept and that or the very unfortunate gentlemen on whom the garnished—he had taken up his abode in them—and "entail" has fallen. He may have thought as you was quietly yet effectually doing his distructive would, in a case, where one of your half-fed negroes deeds. This is he who is fired with rage, and alarm-breaks into your meat-house, at midnight, and, after ed for his safety, and who makes the mighty out- satisfying his present hunger, sells the surplus spoil that the meat was stolen. Here you hesitate not to exulting in His might, and like a giant refreshed stigmatise the purchaser, by the same name you would use in discribing the actual rogue, and to assign to him, as worthy of it, disgrace and punishment proportioned to the elevation of his intelligence -meaning by this, that they are designed, and that above that of the slave. Yet, he was not the thiefhe only took, retained and used,—and this in all probability, too, after having paid for it,-property stolen am acquainted, who should, in speaking of the purchase as connected with this transaction describe him as a thief-or his children, as thieves, if they were to permit the stolen property to be "entailed" or use it as their own, with a full knowledge of the circumstances under which it was introduced into the family. And for this very simple reason-the bility of such a design being indulged by them.

1. Their principles, as they have avowed them, as I said in a preceding part of this answer on.

differ, but the subject matter, the substance of them,

will you not find it difficult, on applying the same moral code to the man-stealer and the man-buyer, to

emancipation of the slaves, but their happiness,—to colony, sets upon his unsuspecting neighbors in the be secured under God, by intellectual, and religious dead of the night; kills the old and the resisting; hopeless subjection of the survivors. 3. They can-sound of the bell that calls him to hear God's mesnot have, as a body of men, any purpose peculiar to sages of woe-if they were but preached-against them of a selfish character to secure-being found of the oppressors of his brother-buys, retains, and almost every religious denomination, of every politi- uses for his own advantage, well knowing the manpursuit,—farmers, mechanics, merchants, manu- Now tell me, where, in morals, is the difference in acturers, preachers, doctors, lawyers, &c., &c. amount of guilt? Does the greater lie on the unsurrection is to be excited. This, for such a pur-pose would be a course, too ineffably stupid even names that language can forge,—whilst he who for the high pressure fanaticism of the abolitionists- consummates the whole transaction, without whom into the hands of those interested in destroying it. ued a single year, is looked upon as entitled to our 5. The slaves are unabled to read. Of the 200,000 most delicate regards, our tenderest sympathies-

and rouse him up to fury. And do you believe, that Has a dogged sullenness beset them—and do they of her own citizens, and readily surrender, in the the bare wood-cut representation of an overseer flog-suppose, that this will arrest the inquisition now persons of abolitionists, rights, which their fore-fathers "pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their duce such an effect, when the reality witnessed many inveterated by two hundred years of disgraceful duces and their duces are fathers to the inquisition now making by the people of this nation into this abuse, inveterated by two hundred years of disgraceful duces are fathers. times a day, on the larger plantations, fails to do it? ration. Strange resolve! Strange expectation! Per-More than this—you have set up yourself on high, and, in the tone of superiority, issued your mandate to the free States, that they touch not Slavery in the is attached a few lines of which I have before quoted to the free States, that they touch not Slavery in the is attached a few lines of which I have before quoted the fore-runner of its destruction. Already is the subor of a drove of their fellow-sufferers urged on, in ject of slavery infixed in the minds of the American representatives in Congress to remove from the very purificus of the Capitol, this shame and dishonor of bles, along the highways, and without any attempt at purheus of the Capitot, this sname and utanonor and the Union be surrendered into your power, eviscerated of all that is essential to its vitality—personal security,—the right of when the commonness of the thing itself, has brought come a discussion so well fitted to call forth its assembling peaceably and petitioning for a redress of assembling peaceably and petitioning for a redress of the slaves to look on it with entire composure and indifferences and engage its noblest powers. The slaves to look on it with entire composure and indifferences and engage its noblest powers. The slaves to look on it with entire composure and indifferences. Whatever the mass of slaveholders is a slave of the slaves to look on it with entire composure and indifferences. The freedom of the Press and of Speech, differences and engage its noblest powers. The slaves to look on it with entire composure and indifferences. The freedom of the Press and of Speech, differences are slaves and engage its noblest powers. The slaves to look on it with entire composure and indifferences. The freedom of the Press and of Speech, differences are slaves as a slave of the slaves and engage its noblest powers. The slaves are slaves and engage its noblest powers. The slaves are slaves and engage its noblest powers. The slaves are slaves are slaves and engage its noblest powers. The slaves are slaves are slaves are slaves and engage its noblest powers. The slaves are slaves are slaves are slaves and engage its noblest powers. The slaves are slaves are slaves are slaves are slaves are slaves as a slave are slaves as a slave are slaves are &c., under the penalty of its destruction, should your demands be resisted.

written in blood—nor yet its most faithful execution, should your in arrresting a riotous outbreak proceeding from any other All these things—so far as they were practicable—
you have done. The facts, and the shame of your efforts to relieve himself and his family from the ills of poverty—in exulting in them, have been bruited through the land, till they are "familiar as house-hold words." What presenting before him the picture of ills he was sufremains undone, you are yet laboring to accomplish, by the strongest means in your power—by your Leby the strongest means in your power—by your Leby the strongest means in your power—by your Leby the your power—by your Leby the strongest means in your power—by your Leby the your power—by and, like men, gird yourselves for the contest, and shape of reward, temptations for entering your serting the slaves were able to read—they would find let it be one of reason and of mind—not of passion vice, to the most unprincipled, profligate and repa- nothing in the anti-slavery publications to encour- and abuse. On you, especially, devolves the duty cious of our population. Such a course of conduct age them to a vindication of their natural rights by of aiding in this investigation. You have an inex- respectable portion of our population, of the most precious would be looked upon even by a semi-barbarous peo- force. They would find on many of the covers to haustible store of facts—you profess, alone, to under- rights of their fellow-citizens secured, as they have been ple as monstrous; and, were the proof not before the tracts, &c., such singular stimulants to insurrec-stand it, and make light of the pretensisns of others. tion as the following, taken from the 3d article of the You cannot escape the guilt of a refusal. I invite them—almost as radius and appetituding to a state the glant of a feature of the Philanthropist. Judge then, with constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, what an honest indignation it must be viewed, by a and repeated in almost all the Constitutions of her Through its columns your voice may be raised, and the imputations of furnishing, by any act of ours, how-

To such of you as are called by the name of Christ, and, through you, to all others in the south coming thereby defeated,) to defer our own "indisputable" rights, under the same description, I desire affectionately to to the supposed state of public feeling, - and, though address the last word of this reply. You are brought in God's providence to a fearful crisis, never before his judgment-seat. Will you, can you, venture your soul's salvation, there, on this plea—that, breaking Will you, can you, venture your delayed. the bands of slavery which you have fastened on your brother, will injure you in your circumstances, or that you will be under the necessity of removing with your families to some more northern clime der your claim of property in the "widow, the fatherless, the stranger, and the poor" to them its rightful and rice and sugar, as spoil to your first successor, and fly for a residence to the coldest regions of the

north, than die defying the Almighty in this thing. That the Lord may accompany the foregoing remarks with his blessing, and make them instruearnest desire of your friend and fellow-citizen, JAMES G. BIRNEY.

JANUARY 1, 1836.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW-RICHMOND, OHIO, JAN. 1, 1836.

The quality of the paper used in our first number, and probably in the two next, is not, we trust, a fair sample of swhat will be afterwards used. Provision has been made, as we believe, for securing paper of a superior fabric.

Should any subscriber be omitted, in sending out our page.

To several of our southern acquaintances, whose names

throphist will be received in Cincincati, at Mes

After long delay, occassioned by difficulties which we have not been slow to overcome, we are enabled to issue our first number. It may be satisfactory to our friends to give them—though we shall do it very briefly and in very general terms—the reasons for issuing our paper at New-Richmond, rather than at Cincinnati, where we reside When the opposition of slaveholders had succeeded in

might be disposed to make publication of its results.

who in the warm embraces, with which they hugged the in all their bitterness. PEOPLE of Ohio, more than thirty years ago.

pleasure to say, very politely,) by official gentlemen, and joicing in the everlasting overthrow, of her great enemy,assured, that the issue, in Cincinnati, of a paper, favora- or Slavery, with its chains and its scourges, its woes, its ble and influential men, such as might be relied on to aid prevent them from actual co-operation with the mob .gentlemen alluded to; and are yet incredulous as to statements going to show a disregard, on the part of any attempted to be, by the Constitution and laws of the State;-yet so desirous were we of peace, and to escape your arguments carried to the remotest corner of the ever innocent, even an occasion for its breach, that we determined (keeping in view, that our main object was not with great inconvenience, and at no small additional exeen with you as it is now. His light has pense, to establish the press at some other point where

To the above remarks we would add, only-if there has been, at any time within the last few months, just ground sacrince of pincipies. And that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency, however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency however subordinate, in furthering their nether that you may continue to sell and buy your agency how agency agency agency has a subordinate that you may be again to the subordinate that you may be again to the subordinate that you may be again to the subordinate that you may be again t for apprehending a mobocratic assault on the freedom of fellow-creatures, as merchandize, and live at ease, and on special part of the subject, and in splendor, on your neighbor's toil without there are exceedingly few, if any, well authentic great work of reform, on whom does God bestow the fast passing away, and that it will soon disappear altogether. For this improved, and still improving, state of the publications being the fast passing away, and still improving, state of the publications being the fast passing away and still improving, state of the publications being the fast passing away and still improving, state of the publications being the fast passing away and still improving, state of the publications being the fast passing away and still improving, state of the publications being the fast passing away and that it will soon disappear altogether. sires. -that you may be permitted, without one check them having any agency in producing the late alarms those to whom he has forgiven much. On whom lic mind, no small debt of praise is due to the Editor of of conscience, to maintain a system directly hostile in the slave States and none, of any member of an does He call for leaders in his works of righteous- one of the Cincinnati journals, who though no abolitionto the great foundation-principle of our government; Anti-Slavery association, having had either directly ness? On his church—on those for whom he gave ist himself—had the sagacity to discern, and the magnani-

brought to suffer in your estate, to have your ease tendency to prevent the mind of this community from proper station, on our first page. To pass it without noconcluding topic, be as brief as its nature and importance will allow. Suffer me to premise a single deferming that its repayment must be utterly broken in upon, and your temporal enjoyments curtailed. What of that? Granted, the condition is a summing that calm and quiet, yet enquiring, state, so tice, would seem like a contemptuous overlooking of the But one, infinitely worse is, to live and essential to a proper consideration of the important sub- zeal he displays, in having voluntarily undertaken the These were doubtless, in the days of Paul, a class to die in the perpetration of a sin, against which God ject, now pressing on it, and—in spite of its reluctance— honorable drudgery of defending the slavery of the south has, more than against any other uttered his hot displeasure, and to appear, with it, unrepented of, at

> pository of facts and arguments on the subject of Slavery due to this champion-notwithstanding he has attacked as connected with Emancipation. The discussion we us before we had our armor on—to assign him a place, with your families to some more northern clime less genial to your health and habits. You cannot invite, and the aid we desire, we are willing to accept from and no humble one either—in the Dough-Face Departas a Christian, you know, you dare not—nay, you any quarter that will furnish it. To the south, we have know, it would be better for you at once, to surren
> offered in our main editorial article to day, the free use of offered in our main editorial article to day, the free use of evidence of being qualified for removal to one still more our columns, to defend a system which they seem deterowners; to abandon your plantations, and all the ap- mined to continue. We here repeat this offer,-and we paratus for their culture, with your crops of cotton, will hope, that it may be accepted in the spirit of kindness. which prompts us to make it.

> with the present, will be sent-as we trust without giving &cc., and have taken a new store, No. 25. Beaver Street. offence or provoking abuse-to several of the principal journals in the slave States. Should they not be sent in in the Water, loaded with cotton, was lately burnt to the by the mail. We have no wish to obtrude our lucubrations on those, who-unknown to us personally or by reputation-may, in the spirit of the south, scornfully reomitted, in sending out our pa- To several of our southern acquaintances, whose names To several of our southern acquaintances, whose names are member of the Methodist church,—no has fert them, we wish to be informed of it.
>
> New Subscribers who send in their names at an early date, can have their subscriptions to commence with the year, and obtain the back Nos. A larger impression than the number of names on our subscription list will be made of the first three of commence with the year, and obtain the back Nos. A larger impression than the number of names on our subscription list will be made of the first three of the methodist church,—no has fert them, with a young widowed wife, to remember,—that though life is uncertain, death is certain, and strikes with equal to the methodist church,—that though life is uncertain, death is certain, and strikes with equal to the methodist church,—that though life is uncertain, death is certain, and strikes with equal to the method of the methodist church,—that though life is uncertain, death is certain, and strikes with equal to the method of first three or four numbers.
>
> We would be glad to receive reports from the different Anti-Slavery lecturers in this State, detailing their proceedings, accounts of the formation of societies, &c., &c.
>
> the Dhilam further, because, if our publications contain in them any CINCINNATI SUBSCRIBERS.—Subscriptions to the Philan throphist will be received in Cincincati, at Messrs Donaldion & Co., Messrs. Truman & Smith, and by Mr. Kellogg, and as well restrained from the work of mischief, as if in the immediate custody of the distinguished gentlemen

*A very ancient barber who had handled many an honored revolutionary head, was sometimes called to perform his professional office on that of the venerable Dr. Smith, President of Princeton College. He held the Doctor in the highest possible respect—except in his moments of intoxication. When the fit was on him, and he was staggering about the street, if the Doctor came in sight, he was charged about the street and the man-buyer, to defeating our first purpose, of publishing the Philanthropist in the succeeded in defeating our first purpose, of publishing the Philanthropist in the street, and the man-buyer, to defeating our first purpose, of publishing the Philanthropist in the street, and the man-buyer, to defeating our first purpose

must, for their own sakes, have the subject of slavery dis-The people of this State, remembering, in all probabili- cussed anew,—they must have the secrets of this pris improvement, they are opposed to all violence on overpowers the weak and delivers them in chains their part—knowing that it would end only in their to their instigator;—he, to the civilized, the eduty at the time they formed their Constitution, the attack, house of both soul and body laid open before them; its utter extermination, or, in a still baser and more cated, the enlightened American, who, within the which, but a short time before, had been made under the horrors exposed before the sun;—they must be brought to sanction of a law of Congress, on the freedom of Speech see its almost universal effects on the character of the offand of the Press, put this right-so far as human language spring and family of the slaveholder, and on the slavecould do so-beyond all doubt or question in their own holder himself; how, by the very laws of our being, the case, when they declaired with a force of expression, pe- habit of uncontrolled domination over slaves, will, when culiar to the Constitution of Ohio, that "the right to occasion offers, show itself in our intercourse with equals; 4. They address nothing to the slaves—the class to taught African, or on the refined American? Shall speak, write or print on any subject" was "Indisputation how the temper, formed by despotic rule, denying that be excited; but all, to the masters against whom in- the heathen be denounced as the man-stealer—the BLE." Furnished with such an Egis as this, it might have laws were made for it, spurns the restraints of governbeen supposed, that any advocate of Liberty could carry ments and the ordinances of constitutions, vents itself in on war even to the death, against her adversary-especi- deeds of blood and death, and is ready to prostrate every because it puts the whole of the exciting material the plunder of his fellow-man could not be contin- ally, as Ohio, to her great honor, was the first of the barrier to the accomplishment of its own will, or the gra-States, which had, in its primary organization, placed the tification of its own pleasure. These, the legitimate fruits seal of utter condemnation on Slavery, forbidding its ex- of slavery every where, must be made known-must be istence in any shape, or under any guise or pretence examined, and marked with a fresh brand of condemnawhatever, within her limits; -and this, too, after the most tion; or we, of the States yet free, and our children, will mature consideration, and in the very view of her elders, soon be compelled to partake of them, as our daily repast,

ciliation. This is their condition now. They have met, Judge, then, of our astonishment, when, on the occur- fiercely disputing each other's reign. They are in actual rence of a very trivial circumstance, in which we had no conflict—theirs is the struggle of death;—there can be but agency, and almost before we had made an orderly ad- one triumph, and this in the utter destruction of the adiustment of our domicil, we were waited on (it gives us versary. Either Liberty will stand on the lifeless body, recurses, and its tears, will overspread our favored land.

> Having determined, if it should please our southern friends to write, that they shall be heard through our columns, we have set apart for their use, a section of our paper to be called the "SLAVE-HOLDER'S DEPARTMENT." If they will not, on this invitation, furnish us with originals, we shall have to use the best second hand articles we can possess ourselves of.

Near to this, as its congenial position, we have opened another-for which we can find no description so appropriate as one suggested by the name, given, a long time ago, by Mr. Randolph, to those members of Congress who, representing the free States, were yet ever found quailing under the bluster made by slaveholding representatives on any reference, in the least, unfavorable to slavery; or ready to enter themselves its apologists and defenders, whenever any selfish advantage presented itself as their reward for doing so. We shall, therefore, without intending any thing malicious, but merely to use the most succinct and intelligible description (for it is now very generally understood,) call this the "DOUGH-FACE DEPARTMENT." It will be occupied mainly by those, who, though residing in the free States, seem to forget, in their zeal for the maintenance of southern rights, that there are any northern rights at all worthy of preservation;—who act, as if they were ready, at the demand of the slaveholder, to surrender to him the freedom of Speech and of the Press-(to say nothing of personal security)-rights not meanly esteemed by their immediate neighbors. Nor will a place here, be refused to such editors, as publish many and long essays, written by slaveholders in defence of slavery, whilst they exhaust the English language for terms of vilification against those who would reply to them; nor to those who rejoice publicly at the illegal and slave-like to the great foundation-principle of our government; Anti-Slavery association, naving made control to the great foundation-principle of our government; Anti-Slavery association, naving made control to the great foundation-principle of our government; Anti-Slavery association, naving made control to the great foundation-principle of our government; Anti-Slavery association, naving made control to take the mity to resist, at its flood-tide, the bold encroachments of citizens by southern "Vigilance Committees," whilst to the slave-holders of the south, backed by their upholders of the south, backed by their upholders. commend their subservience, they advise the same course

butes to give to our very humble efforts in favor of the great principles of liberty. After sufficient reflection. It is our intention to make the Philanthropist a re-

GREAT FIRE IN NEW-YORK .- On the night of the 16th December, a fire broke out, which in its progress, is supposed to have consumed from four hundred to five hun-It is not our design to pour out our publications on the south, unasked. Courtesy will require of us to send a No. of this date to each of the members of the Athens mental in the advancement of his glory on earth—of Vigilance Committee. Four consecutive Nos. beginning tained. They saved their books, valuable papers, &c., their store and a considerable quantity of the goods it con-

> "FRUITS OF ABOLITIONISM!"-The Steamboat, Walk exchange, ours will be discontinued. To the subscribers water's edge at Natchez. A runaway slave on board is in slave States, their paper will be regularly transmitted supposed to have perished, as he was in irons, and had not been found after the conflagration.

DIED-On the morning of the 31st, after a short but distressing illness, Mr. Milton L. Sinmons, aged 24.—Beloved and respected by a numerous circle of friends a member of the Methodist church,-he has left them

The New-Richmond Anti-Slavery Society will meet at the Presbyterian Clarch, on Saturday, the 2d of January. 1836, at early-candle-lighting. Should the weather be pleasant, an address may be expected. pleasant, an address may be expected.

THOS. DONALDSON, Sec. pro. tem.

A Card.

From the Vermont State Journal. "Americans are afraid of freedom."—Address of Rev. Mr May, Oct. 22, 1835.

Afraid of Freedom? Can it be-Or shall it e'er be told, that we, Whose fathers fought to gain the boon, Have learned to fear its claims so soon! Let not the slumbering bones that lie, On Bunker Hill, hear that reply, Lest they be clothed with life and And 'rattle in their cerements;' Lest Warren spring again to life, To grasp his sword for mortal strife,

And light again the fires On Freedom's altars, which have stood, Unhonored by the great and good; The vestal fire, once blazing bright, Extinguished by oppression's might, As o'er them roll'd the purple flood,-Drenched in a wave of human blood! Oh, tell not the immortal dead, We fear that prize for which they bled! Hushed be our voice-untold the tale-Lest under their rebuke we quail-

Accursed of our sires! Afraid of Freedom! Is it so? Is he, whose life you've saved, your foe? Will he whose mouth you've filled with bread, Turn viper like, and strike you dead? Has man so much a demon grown, That when you first his rights shall own, With fury he will hail the friend, That speaks to all his woe an end? Will he on his deliverer fall, Who breaks till now the helpless thrall-

On him dire vengeance pour! No! 'tis a libel on our race; At which fair Virtue hides her face; While Justice lifts his sword on high, Waiting to close the tragedy, That waits the scene, if thus we bind, The body, and th' immortal mind Of millions of our flesh and blood-Sons of our Father and our God; Till he shall bid them in despair, Rush like the lion from his lair, And drench the land in gore!---Lucius.

Northern Spirit.

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH, ESQ.

The following letter we know will commend itself to the consciences of thousands who have stood in the ranks of our opposers. A nobler example of allegiance to truth re furnished, we have never been called on to record. Who that has written a book, or nourished into popular favor a daring enterprise, or headed a controver-sy, has ever dared, at the dictate of conscience, to change his position in the face of universal obloquy? Such ines are rare; they stand at the summit of human mag While, however we cordially welcome Mr. Smith to the labors, reproaches, persecution and glory of this warfare, we see no ground to give up or modify the statements in our exposition of doctrines, to which he takes exception. As we understand them, we believe they express truths which are dear to us both .- Emancipator.

PETERBORO', Nov. 12, 1835.

To Abraham L. Cox, M. D.,

Rec. Sec. of the Am. Anti-Slavery Society:

Dear Sir—You will please add my name to the list of

members of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The formation of this society on the principle of "immediate emancipation"—a principle, which my whole head approved and my whole heart cherished—was an event very gratifying to me. From that time to the present I have been its friend; and have been waiting, but for the correction of its principal errors, to become a member of I cannot deny, and it is due to candor for me to say, that, during all this time, in which I have refused to unite with the Anti-Slavery Society through an unwillingness to appear to sanction its errors, I have forcibly felt that my with it would be the most clear and influential ex pression of my approbation of its fundamental and excel-lent principles. These errors (and some of them are in organic instruments of the society) remain, to a great extent, uncorrected. Nor are my views of them in any wise changed. After having said so much of them through the press, it would be worse than useless for me again to specify and dwell on them. The society, of course, does not admit them to be errors. If it did, it would correct

Such, however, is the present crisis in the history of the Anti-Slavery Society, that I can defer my connexion with it no longer. The powerful combination to crush it—a combination comprising amongst its elements all political parties—and the minifest purpose to crush it, though it be at the cost of the reputation and property, and even lives of its members, arge me, and, I trust, urge ten thousand others, by all that is precious in the great and just and eternal principles of the society, and by all that is precious in the rights of its persecuted members, to go forward now, its errors notwithstanding, and make the cause of the Anti-Slavery Society our cause, and the perils of its members

our perils.

There is another consideration prompting me to myself with the society. The Heaven-derived right of free discussion, so fully and gloriously recognized and defended by our civil government, is assailed—repeatedly and frightfully assailed—in the persons of the members of this number, are industriously at work to deprive this portion of our citizens of a sacred right, which, once lost to any, will soon be lost to all. The demand of the south is, that the north shall enact laws virtually destructive of this right; and men are not wanting at the north, mercenary and mean ch to chime in with this demand.

lemn belief is, that the Anti-Slavery Society is now so far identified with the right of free discussion account, not only of its manly defence of that right, but re on account of the lawless and brutal endeavor to hinder its exercise of it, that if the Society be suffered to fall, the right of free discussion will fall with it. Entertaining this belief, I must not only not oppose the Society, uphold it: and, it is evident, that, whilst I refuse to join it, my influence must be more against than for it. Never in our day had the friends of human rights and of civil liberty such an opportunity as they now have, in joining the Anti-Slavery Society, to testify, that, under the strongest terminations to testify, that, under the strongest temptations to law-honoring men. Never had they such an opportunity,

I scarcely need say, after having repeatedly presented and see which side preponderates, whether that of the north, or the south. which I advocate, is not the immediate ele timelf to effect. All we ask, and this we cannot be denied, for it is the correlative duty of an inherent right—is, that we may kindly, temperately, and prudently, address such arguments to our slaveholding brethren, as we think will it is asserted as the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in in the District of Columbia. That Congress to abolish slavery in in the District of Columbia. That Congress when has the constitutional power of these arguments, and to dread the change which the slightest doubt. But high considerations of experience, and wise. These opinions we have freely expressed, and we certainly have no intention to refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the conscience and hearts of our fellow-citizens, who held slaves or apologize for slavery.

11th. We believe that the education of the power of these arguments, and to dread the change which the slightest doubt. But high considerations of experience, and we certainly have no intention to refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the conscience and hearts of our fellow-citizens, who held slaves or apologize for slavery.

11th. We believe that the education of the power so to do, we have not refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the conscience and hearts of our fellow-citizens, who held slaves or apologize for slavery.

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That immediate emancipation is fraught with the dangers and destruction, which are so vividly pictured by the imaginations of its opponents, I do not believe. The vertical of the state of dict of history is entirely on the other side; and assures us, that such emancipation is no less safe than righteous. Instance the British West India Islands,-where, instead of the scenes of violence and carnage so pathetically foretold, and strenuously insisted on by those, who were interested to perpetuate the abominations of slavery, not a single negro has raised his hand against his former owner, nor against the civil authority. But, if there were no example of the safety of immediate emancipation, I must still justify the doctane, and urge the duty. What is American slavery?—I mean the slavery which is legalized and sanctioned in our country—the system which is so palpably wicked, that a plain man once remarked to me: "If it be not wrong, then I am not an accountable being-for then I am incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong: and God will not judge me." The grand and fundamenand cool will not judge me. The grand and introduced tal crime of this system is, the clothing of one erring mortal with absolute power over another. What are some of the practical features of the system? It so stands between few of the rays of the blessed and saving light of that Book are suffered to fall upon them; -and yet, in the face that the Bible approves of American slavery! This system withholds from these hapless millions, God's own in-It makes merchandise of them as perfectly as though they were but cattle of the field. Can I, may I, be reconciled nothing that concerns man is foreign-as a member of a

ess,
Very respectfully yours,
GERRIT SMITH.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ADDRESS, Every effort has been made by abolitionists to inform their fellow-citizens, north and south, of their object, and the means by which they expect to effect it. There has been no mysterious secrecy in holding their meetings. They have been held-when violence, slumbering, permitted-openly and in the face of day. The press has been used to publish their principles and plans. Although it may be somewhat discouraging to those who have not duly ing all their efforts to prevent it-are yet misunderstood, misrepresented, and vilified as citizens and men:-still the only course we have left us must be unceasingly used. We must continue to publish and re-publish our principles, our neans, our progress, &c., &c., taking care, that our action has been worn deeper, not effaced, by time; and we corresponds with our profession.

Public, made in September last, by the president and several of the principal officers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the sensible and manly preface of the N. Y. Evening Post. To this document, the Editor makes "a single exception"-as to "the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia." Whilst we dissent from his views as to this part of the subject, we do it with all respect for the fearless and generous part he has taken in maintaining the great principles of freedom, as contended for by abolitionists. We would ask, may a time be looked for more favorable than the present-when the mind of the nation is awakened to the subject-for discussing Emancipation as applicable to the District of Columbia? Are any of the causes which would make the discussion dangerous now, subsiding? Will southern members of Congress hereafter, during their official attendance at Washington, purchase, to be driven to their distant plantations, fewer of ageing prospect, that the slaveholding spirit will become more pure, gentle, and easy to be reasoned with, if not "enreated," than it now is? If so, what are the signs? And are the slavers in the sacred ten miles square, packing up. at, midnight, their furniture, their thumb-screws, their advertisements for the purchase of hundreds of their fellowprocess of dissolution,-then, indeed, would the persuasions of expediency call for, and be entitled to, a most deliberate hearing.

Now, to our mind, there is a peculiar propriety in Congress-representing the nation-making the first step in this to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, that py colored man, and to prepare the way for great blessings great subject. 1st. It would, in a considerable degree, ex- the State governments have within their respective to Africa and our own country." to its avowed principles. 2d. The members would have no direct interest in the decision-the proability, then is, they would make it with greater deliberation and in greater wisdom. 3d. The extermination of slavery in the District of Columbia, would go far to exterminate it in the Statesbecause it would add greatly to the weight of enlightened striving to perpetuate this condition .- Ed. Phil.

The annexed address to the public has been sent to us inclosed in a note from an officer of the Anti-Slavery Society, requesting us, in "behalf of the society whose document it is, and in justice to the pub-Mobs, demagogues and newspapers, without lic who have a right to the information it contains, to publish it in our columns this afternoon. most cheerfully comply with their request; and furthermore invite the attention of our readers to this address, as not only one which it is incumbent on them which, with a single exception, deserve, in our judg- might furnish of increased severity of oppression. ment, their approval.

It is quite time, since the south seems determined that we shall discuss the question of slavery, whether we will or no, that we remembered the maxim which lies at the foundation of justice, Hear the other side. We have listened very credulously on the other side. We have with greedy ears, devoured up all sorts of passionate invectives against the abolitionists; and received as gospel, without evidence, the most inflammatory and incendiary tirades against

them. While appropriating to them exclusively the epithets of incendiaries and insurrectionists, "follow a multitude to do evil," they are still law-abiding, have ourselves been kindling the flames of domestic discord, and stirring up the wild spirit of tumult. as they now have, by fraternizing with the persecuted defenders of great first principles, to manifest their own generations and fearless devotion to those principles.

It is high time to pause and ask ourselves, what warrant we have for these proceedings? It is time to balance the account current of inflammatory charges,

We have here, in the subjoined official address. vation of the slave to our level of social and political signed with the names of men whom we believe too rights. How rapid shall be his franchisement; or to how upright to lie, and who certainly have shown that tout or laws the public safety may require him to they are not afraid to speak the truth, an exposition have never had one such agent.

They are not afraid to speak the truth, an exposition have never had one such agent.

They are not afraid to speak the truth, an exposition have never had one such agent.

They are the safety may require him to they are not afraid to speak the truth, an exposition have never had one such agent.

We have already said, that, in our judgment, the for distribution, except to five research in this avery intelligent. trust, that in this, every intelligent member of the Anti-Slavery Society agrees with me—is, that he be delivered immediately from a chattel—a thing—to a man. Nor need I disclaim for myself and for the Anti-Slavery Society, all purpose of intering with the legislative power of the slave States, and of taking into our own hands the work of liberating the slaves in them. This work belongs to their masters, and large in them. This work belongs to their masters, and large in them. This work belongs to their masters, and large in them. This work belongs to their masters, and large in them. This work belongs to their masters, and large in them. This work belongs to their masters, and large in them. we wish taken with a qualification. We do not approve of perseverance in sending pamphlets to the south on the subject of slavery, in direct opposition to the unanimous sentiments of the slaveholders; but we leave to be sinful, injurious to the transport of the do approve of the strenuous assertion of the right of to this and to every other country in which it prevails:

through a corresponding change in their own minds, and well weighed, before an exercise of that power is sands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens attempted. A spirit of conciliation and compromise should govern in the matter, as it did in the formation who, on account of their complexion, are virtually of our sacred Magna Charta. Every State in the kept in ignorance, and whose instruction in certain confederacy should be considered as having an equal cases actually prohibited by law! We are anxious interest in the seat of the National Government, and the legislation for it should be of that neutral tint, which results from the mixture of contrary hues the free States have a majority in Congress, yet para-mount considerations of brotherhood and national ly, and is now again of slavery, by introducing it in any collateral or in- the criminal amalgamation that prevails wherever sidious form. Whenever that question once fully slavery exists.

comes into general discussion, it is destined to shake 12th. We are accused of acts that tend to a disso comes into general discussion, it is destined to shake our empire to the centre. Let the commotion be then avoided in regard to a spot of ground which is it. We have never "calculated the value of the not a pin's point on the map, and in the government of which, more than in almost any other quest that the abolition of slavery will remove the chief tion, the sentiments of the minority ought to be res-

south, are not by their hot menaces and inconsider- making any law "abridging the freedom of speech God's Book and two millions and a half of men, that but ate vaunts, precipitating a discussion which must be or of the press." entered into sooner or later, and may, perhaps, as Such fellow-citizens, are our principles.—Are they well be undertaken at once. Be that as it may, their unworthy of Republicans and of Christians? Or are of the fact, that American slavery forbids the reading of high and boastful language shall never deter this they in truth so atrocious, that, in order to prevent the Bible and utterly contemns its authority, are we told print from expressing its opinion that slavery is an their diffusion, you are yourselves willing to surrenstitution of marriage, and substitutes concubinage for it.

It makes merchandise of them as perfectly as though they smiled on our republic, that which shall break the may be concealed from public view, and that the fetters of the bondman, and give his enfranchised Capital of your republic may continue to be, as it

political community, whose corner-stone doctrine it is, that "all men are created equal"—as a Christian, whose holy religion requires the instant forsaking of all sin—I will, I the question in such a way as to endanger the lives of the Constitution and laws, shall appoint throughout the length and breath of your land, ten thousand the question in such a way as to endanger the lives of the constitution and laws, shall appoint throughout the length and breath of your land, ten thousand must, continue to plead for the immediate cessation of this giant wickedness.

In equession in such a way as to can anger the free to the post-office, and suppress every pamphlet an entire the post-office. movements on this momentous subject, in view of liberties, the days of our republic are numbered, the dreadful wrecks which the meeting tides of contrary fanaticism must spread around their borders. will not be the last victims offered at the shrine of But while we truly entertain these sentiments, arbitrary powe we know no reason that renders it incumbent on us, to conceal how far our views are really opposed to slavery; and while we disclaim any constitutional right to legislate on the subject, we assert, without may be somewhat discouraging to those who have not duly considered the invariable opposition of evil principles to benevolent effort, to see how abolitionists—notwithstandsion made in boyhood by the glorious exclamation of Cato, that

A day, and hour of virtuous liberty, Is worth a whole eternity of bondage,

eagerly and ardently trust, that the day will yet ar-In this view, we re-publish to-day, the Address to the rive when the clank of the bondman's fetters will form no part of the multitudinous sounds, which our country continually sends up to heaven, mingling, as it were, into a song of praise for our national prosperity. We yearn with strong des when Freedom shall no longer wave We yearn with strong desire for the day

"Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves."

With these remarks, and with the additional one that among our selected matters to-day, we, unsolicited, insert the address of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, we submit the following document to attention of our readers:-

TO THE PUBLIC:

In behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we solicit the candid attention of the public to the following declaration of our principles and objects. Were the charges which are brought against us, made only by individuals who are interested in the continuance of slavery, and by such as are influenctheir fellow-beings than they now do? Is there an encoured solely by unworthy motives, this address would be unnecessary; but there are those who merit and possess our esteem, who would not voluntarily do us injustice, and who have been led by gross misrepresentations, to believe that we are pursuing measures the south, but with the precepts of numerical scourges, and their chains?—Are they discontinuing their ligion. To such we offer the following explanations and assurances.

abolished by the legislatures of the several States in which it prevails, and that the exercise of any othtutional.

onerate the nation from the charge of acting in opposition jurisdictions, and that it is their duty to efface so foul a blot from the national escutcheon.

4th. We believe that American citizens have the ry State and Nation under heaven; and we mean never to surrender the liberty of speech, of the press, or of conscience-blessings we have inherrited from public opinion already pressing so heavily on those who are our fathers, and which we intend as far as we are able, to transmit unimpaired to our children.

5th. We have uniformly deprecated all forcible attempts on the part of the slaves to recover their liberty. And were it in our power to address them, we would exhort them to observe a quiet and peaceful demeanor, and would assure them that no in-

6th. We would deplore any servile insurrection, both on account of the calamities which would atin fairness to peruse, but as one, the sentiments of tend it, and on account of the occasion which it if the post-masters at the east do their duty, they will not

7th. We are charged with sending incendiary publications to the south. If by the term incendiary meant publications containing arguments and facts to prove slavery to be a moral evil, and that duty and policy require its immediate slander, scatter "firebrands, arrows, and death." abolition, the charge is true. But if this term is It is probable that ministers of other denominations have abolition, the charge is true. But if this term is used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, ters, the charge is utterly and unequivocally false. those who make it, offer to the public no evidence from our writings in support of it.

8th. We are accused of sending ar publications to the slaves, and it is asserted that their tendency is to excite insurrection. Both the charges are false These publications are not intended for the slaves and were they able to read them, they would find in them no encouragement to insurrection.

9th. We are accused of employing agents in the slave States to distribute our publications. We have never had one such agent. We have sent no of the Anti-Slavery Society.

of the Anti-Slavery Society.

that, in our judgment, the for distribution, except to five respectable resident But we have sent

the unanimous sentiments of the slaveholders; but we do approve of the slave States, and the unanimous sentiments of the slaveholders; but we do approve of the slave States, and the unanimous sentiments of the slaveholders; but we do approve of the slave States, and the unanimous sentiments of the slaveholders; but we do approve of the sternous assertion of the right to this and to every other country in which it prevails: of the Northern Abolitionists in the question of slavery, to this and to every other country in which it prevails: of the Northern Abolitionists in the question of slavery, we do most decidedly disapprove of the steps they are taking the doapprove of the steps they are taking into our own hands the work of liberating the doapprove of the steps they are taking into our own hands the work of liberating the doapprove of the steps they are taking into our own hands the work of liberating the doapprove of the steps they are taking into our own hands the work of liberating the doapprove of the steps they are taking the unanimous sentiments of the slavely to this and to every other country in which it prevails: of the Northern Abolitionists in the question of slavery, we admire the herois we believe immediate emancipation to be the duty of as altogether unwarrantable; and that, he adolition to every other country in which it prevails:

of the Northern Abolitionists in the question of the severy slavely of the view in mediate emancipation to be the duty of as altogether unwarrantable; and that, he adolition to every slavely of the very other country in which it prevails:

of the Northern Abolitionists in the question of the subclimation of the subclimation of the subclimation of the subclimation of the south, had and to every other country in which it prevails:

of the Northern Abolitionists in the question of the subclimation of the subclim

to protect the rights, and to promote the virtue and happiness of the colored portion of our population, and on this account we have been charged with a of opinion, and is in strong opposition to none. If design to encourage intermarriage between the This charge has been repeatedly, and is now again denied; while we repeat that amity, should prevent them from stirring the question the tendency of our sentiments is to put an end to

lution of the Union, and even of wishing to dissolve Union," because we believe it to be inestible; and danger of its dissolution; and one of the many rea why we cherish and will endeavor to preserve We are not sure that the Harry Percys of the the Constitution, is, that it restrains Congress from

opprobrium and a curse, a monstrous and crying evil, der at the dictation of others, the invaluable privilege in whatever light it is viewed; and that we shall of free discussion, the very birthright of Americans? to the perpetuity of this horrid system? or to any postponement of its abolition? No—as a man, to whose heart

equal liberty. We have no right to interfere legislatively with the General government in acknowledged defiance of casions in the south, to the horrors of Lynch law. newspaper, whether religious or political, which in Nay we repeat, what we have often asserted, with as sincere earnestness as any loud-mouthed anti-abolitionist, that we deeply deplore all intemperate that if you submit to such an encroachment on your

> ARTHUR TAPPAN, Presibent. JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer. WILLIAM JAY, Sec. For. Cor. ELIZUR W RIGHT, Jr. Sec. Do. Cor. ABRAHAM L. COX, M. D. Rec. Sec. Members of the Executive Committee. LEWIS TAPPAN, JOSHUA LEAVITT SAMUEL E. CORNISH, SIMEON S. JOCELYN. THEODORE S. WRIGHT. New York, Sept. 3d, 1835.

Pro-Slavery Ecclesiastics.

ABOLITIONISTS. We copy the following from the narrative on the stat

of religion, adopted by the Synod of Philadelphia.
'In this day of public excitement, and fanatical excess the Synod feel called upon to warn the churches agains the agitators of the public mind, who, reckless of consequences, and desperate in spirit, are endangering the in

tegrity of the American Union, and the unity of the Pres byterian Church, by the unchristian method adopt to advance the cause of abolition. The Presbyt rian Church, through her supreme judicature, and other bodies, has often and freely expressed her views of the evils of slavery. But at the present crisis, it is earnestly recommended to all our people, to discountenance the revo lutionary agitations, and unrighteous plans and doctrine of the self-styled Abolitionists, who it is firmly believed are retarding more than all other causes combined, the progress of universal emancipation. If they succeed, they must rend the Church and the Union in twain, deluge th land in blood, and destroy the best hopes of the unhappy The Synod would be very far from even appear slaves, ing to excuse the spirit of misrule and lawless violence which has been exhibited of late in almost every part of

sentations, to believe that we are pursuing measures our beloved country. But when such spirit is known to at variance not only with the constitutional rights of be rife and abroad in the land, the friends of Christ are the south, but with the precepts of humanity and resuch excitements; and to sustain by every proper available and assurances.

Ist. We hold that Congress has no more right to cannot forbear to add, that those who take advantage of the consideration to some darker and more dismal abode? If any thing of all this is doing; if slavery in the District is undergoing, at any reasonable pace, the local state of the consideration to the part of the consideration to right to cannot forbear to add, that those who take advantage of a crisis to agitate the land, assume a terrible responsable pace, the local state of the consideration that it seems to be a part of the design to produce public excesses and then the local state of the conversal states. influence, the dominion of law and public

> er than moral influence to induce such abolition, is to recommend to the pastors and churches, the great redeeming cause of Afr 3d. We believe that Congress has the same right at the present juncture, to unite the friends of the unhap

A FAIR WARNING.

The Editors and Publishers of Emancipation and Aboright to express and publish their opinions of the Constitutions, Laws and Institutions of any and evetheir incendiary publications upon the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in this and other southern States through the post-office, are viewed with detestation and indignation by those to whom they are sent, and by the insulted community at large. Such papers will, as soon as their character is ascertained, be returned to the source or office whence they came. No servant of Christ in our ministry, can consent to hazzard the honor of his master's cause by the most distant association with those who wave the brand of ruin; more with the reckless feroci surrectionary movement on their part would receive ble philanthropy. Large bundles of "The Emancipator," from us the slightest aid or countenance. ty of demons than with the common feelings of reasona have reached the Nashville post-office, directed to the "Methodist Preachers." All these will go back—and only demand all the postage from the publishers which the case may justify, but they will communicate to the southern public, the names of those monsters in human form who would drench this portion of our country in blood, by and political disseminating publications, that, like the evil tongnes of

used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, and designed to excite the slaves to break their fetsouth-west in the awful project-inhuman as it is We beg our fellow-citizens to notice, that this charge dreadful-of instant, unconditional emancipapation at any is made without proof, and by many who confess rate, except on the terms authorized by our State laws, have counted without their host. While the ministry of our church will spurn the insulting imputation, that "itinerant preachers" can be so lost to a sense either of honor, shame or religion, as to be the "instigators of insurrection," ill be the first and foremost to drag to light and pun-, any wretch who may assume a clerical garb for s of mischief.—"Preachers," such monsters cannot purposes of mischief.—"Preachers," such monsters cannot be called; they have but one name, that of impostors; and that implies the utter impossibility of their being of us, or belonging to our itinerant connection !- Western Metho

> VIRGINIA BAPTISTS, ON ABOLITION.—The following nble and resolution were unanimously adopted by the Shiloah Baptist Association of Virginia, at their recent

'Whereas the public peace is greatly interrupted, and the cause of religion threatened, by the efforts of a portion of the northern people, especially by the practice of sending abolition papers by mail, to various persons who have

never called for them, Therefore, 'Unanimously Resolved, That we view the interference

The Protestant Episcopal Church, so far as is known, has not published any resolutions abusive of the Abolitionists. She does not call those whom she admits to her ordinances, "fanatics," "incendiaries," "firebrands," &c., &c. How pleasant it would be to make the same record of the three minations of our country.

Anti-Slavery Ecclesiastics

SYNODICAL RESOLUTIONS.

SINOD OF CINCINNATI.—Official Report.— nod of Cincinnati consists of 78 Ministers, and ders from each Congregation within its bounds. Under the care of this Synod are 108 Churches 12 Licentiates and 5 Candidates and 5 Candidates.

At the late meeting in Dayton, Thursday, October 15th, there were present 63 Ministers and 53 Elders, with 8 cor-

esponding members. Sylvester Scowell was chosen Moderator, and J. P. Van-

dyke and J. L. Bellville, temporary Clerks. Three appeals and six complaints, were presented and nanded to the Judicial Committee. Five of these were rom the Presbytery of Cincinnati, and four from the Presbytery of Miami.

The first of these that occupied the attention of the Synod, was the complaint of A. T. Rankin and others, against the act of the Presbytery of Cincinnati granting leave to a vaact of the Prespytery of Chichman granung leave to a va-cant church to employ Joseph C. Harrison, (a slaveholder of the Presbytery of Ebenezer) to preach statedly to them. Taken up on Friday afternoon, and after the parties were heard and the roll called, the complaint was sustained for the following reasons, viz:
1st. Because Mr. Harrison was reported by common

fame, and by members of the Presbytery of Cincinnati, as a slaveholder: and regard for the word of God, and the resolution of this Synod in the year 1830, condeming slavery as a sin and scandal, required them to take measures for ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the report.

2d. Because to grant permission to a real or reputed slaveholder to labor among their vacancies, and especially one who lives without their bounds, and retains his membership in another Presbytery, is inconsistent with the duties required of Presbyteries, to promote the purity, peace and edification of the churches under their care.

J. L. Wilson gave notice that he would complain to the next General Assembly of the above decision, for the following reasons, viz:

1st. The decision is calculated, if not intended, to es tablish a non-intercourse between the south and north. 2d. The resolution adopted by the Synod on this subject, is not in accordance with their former testimony against

3d. That, in the present excited state of public feeling on the subject of abolition, such a decision is unexpec and hurtful Signed,

JOSHUA L. WILSON, THOMAS B. CLARK, ARCHIBALD CRAIG.

The following resolutions on the subject of slavery were offered, and after considerable discussion, were adopt-

1st. Resolved, That this Synod hereby declare that slavery, as it exists in these United States, is a great political, and moral, and religious evil: and that it is the imperious duty of every christian and patriot, to exert hims in his proper place, and with the talents and influence with which he is entrusted, to have this evil and all the concomitants and consequences of it, speedily removed.

2d. That while this Synod fully recognize the regular ecclesiastical standing of the Ministers and Elders, and private members of the Presbyterian church living in the slave States, who are more or less involved in the sin of slavery; yet they cannot expect that even divine institutions under their management, will be an extensive and lasting blessing, till the church, as a church, shall be perfectly clear of this evil-and hence,

3d. That this Synod cannot give any encouragement to any of the brethren in the ministry in those slaveholding States to come and labor among them, or make any ar rangements to settle within the bounds of this Synod, un less these brethren shall give full and unequivocal evidence that they personally have no part nor lot in the sin of hold-

ing slaves.

4th. But while the Synod, in the exercise of benevolent sympathy for their brethren, are constrained thus to bear testimony against the sinfulness of the whole system of slavery; they have not forgotten that the whole are partakers in this sin, and have been accessary to its existence, and have incorporated in the result of their general prosperity, the products of the slave-trade, by which this great evil has been introduced. And they acknowledge cheerfully the obligation to co-operate in the removal of it, in such way as shall unite the whole nation in bearing the ourden which may be incident to its removal. And, th t does not belong to us, as an ecclesiastical body, to intermeddle with the secular policy of the nation, yet, if it should seem good to the government of our choice, to make such pecuniary appropriations as shall tend to equalize the burden, and conciliate the feelings and unite the efforts of the whole nation; we, as the Ministers of Jesus Christ, and Elders of his church, would feel bound, in our proper sphere, to give to the measure our hearty co-operat ervent prayers.

Notice was given by the following persons that they dissent from the third resolution.

J. L. Wilson, S. H. Crane, T. B. Clark, J. G. Burnett,
F. Putnam, J. L. Bellville, M. C. Williams, Wm. King,
P. Monfort, J. Whitaker, G. Sheldon, J. Burtt, J. Hud-

son, J. W. Scott, B. Graves, J. Coe, T. E. Hughes, James McIntire, B. Murphy, A. Bullard, T. J. Biggs, C. A. Warren, C. Burrows, Wm. Graham, F. Montori, D. Gor

SYNOD OF THE WESTERN RESERVE ON SLAVERY .- The following preamble and resolutions were adopted by Synod of the Western Reserve, in Ohio, at their recent session:

The subject of slavery is one of the deepest interest, because it bears in the most threatening aspect towards our country and the church. The unusual irritability of public mind on this subject, and the differences of opinion among professing Christians, require great caution kindness in the expression of our sentiments. At the same time we claim the right and the privilege, as free citizens of this republic, as individuals, and as synod, to speak out our opinion, on this and every other subject, which can affect the interest of the church and the

tion. Therefore,
Resolved, That in the opinion of this Synod, slavery, s it exists in these United States, is a sin against God, a highhanded tresspass on the rights of man, a great physical, political, and social evil, which ought to be immediate

ly and universally abandoned.

Resolved, That in our attempts to remove this evil from our country, and the church of God, we will employ only the instrumentality of truth and love, gentle pursuasion, and prayer to the God of the oppressed. And on no account will we encourage fanatical sentiments, riotous proceedings, or harsh and illegal measures.

Resolved, That we cordially sympathise with those, who, in the midst of a slaveholding population, are disposed to advocate truth and righteousne s, but whose way hedged up by public prejudice, and who are exposed to violence and outrage; and we pray the Father of enlighten and direct them, and to give them faith and teadfastness in the day of trial.

Resolved: That we consider it the duty of ministern and Christians, and of all our fellow citizens, by all suita ble, conciliatory and Christian means; and especially, by cultivating a spirit of sympathy and prayer for the er ed and their masters, of moderation and wisdom in the day semination of truth and light, to endeavor to hasten the day Wm. Hanford. of univeral emancipation.

Another Outrage.—We copy the following paragraph from the Louisiana Advertiser of the 18th ult. It is exceedingly painful to record such repeated instances of unlawful action: they give rise to melancholly forebodeings.

— Ato. Jour. We learn from a passenger who arrived here yesterda morning from Madisonville, that two persons had been detected in distributing seditious pamphlets amon slaves in the neighborhood of St. Helena. They nphlets among the immediately tried by the citizens, and charges being proved, says our informant, they were sentenced to be

nung forthwith! And Another.—The following is from the Louisiana ournal published at St. Francisville, under date of August 13. The sovereign people were merciful in this instance, and were content with inflicting a punishment short of death, but the principle is as much to be condemned, as

death, but the principle is as much to be contented, as though they had hung the victims.

On Friday evening last, a guard of citizens brought to this placa from the parish of St. Helena, three men, one of whom was John Glassock, against whom five warrants had been issued from this parish, for riots and breaches of the peace. Glassock, and a man named Baily, brought with them Judge Lynch's receipt, and the signature of the index by signer manua, is yet plainly to be seen an each of them Judge Lynch signs manua, is yet plainly to be seen on each of them. We commiserate the parents and sisters of Glassock, who are deservedly respectable members of society.